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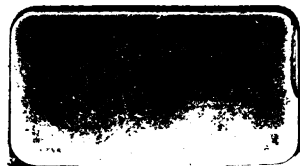


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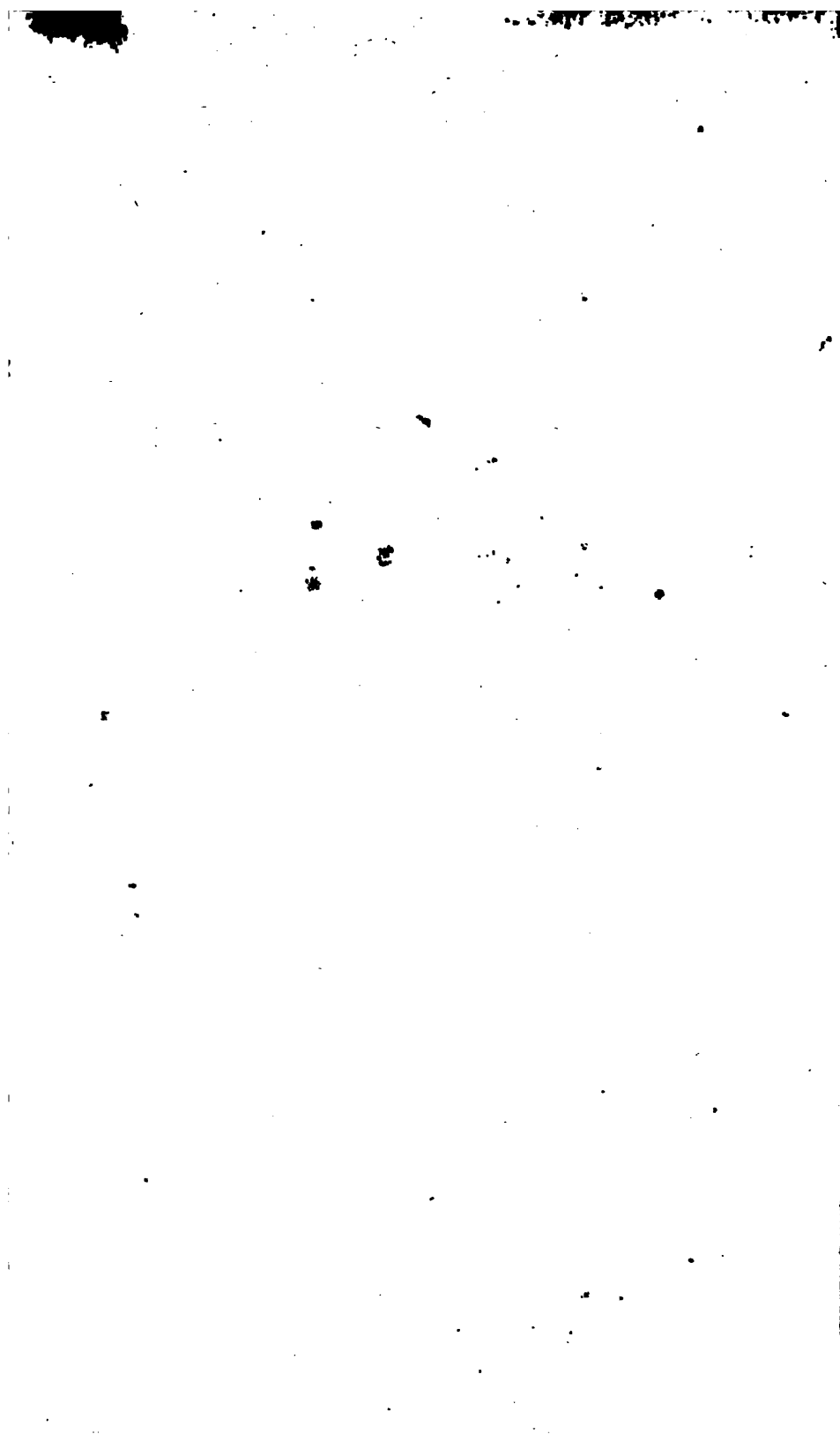
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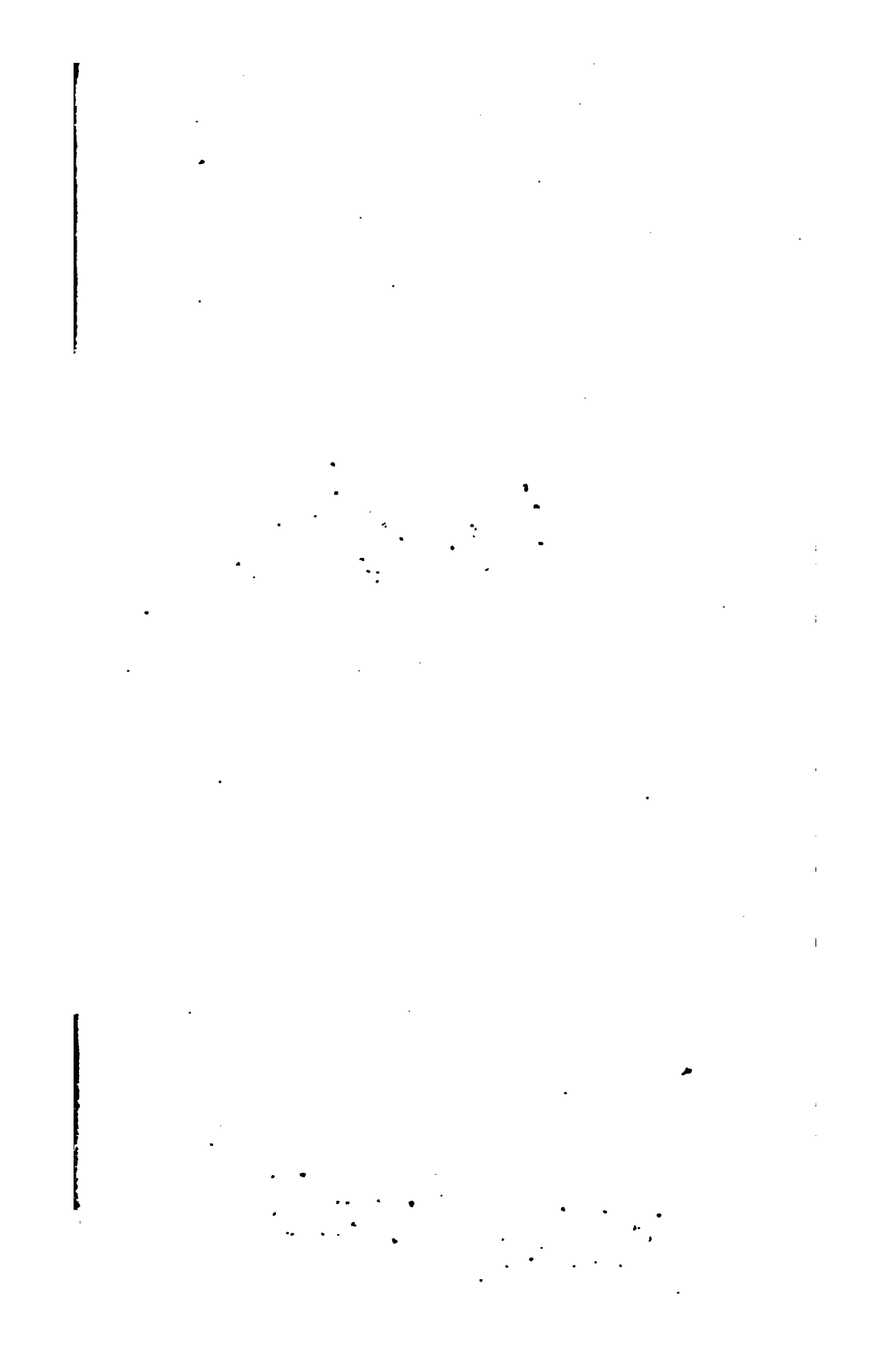
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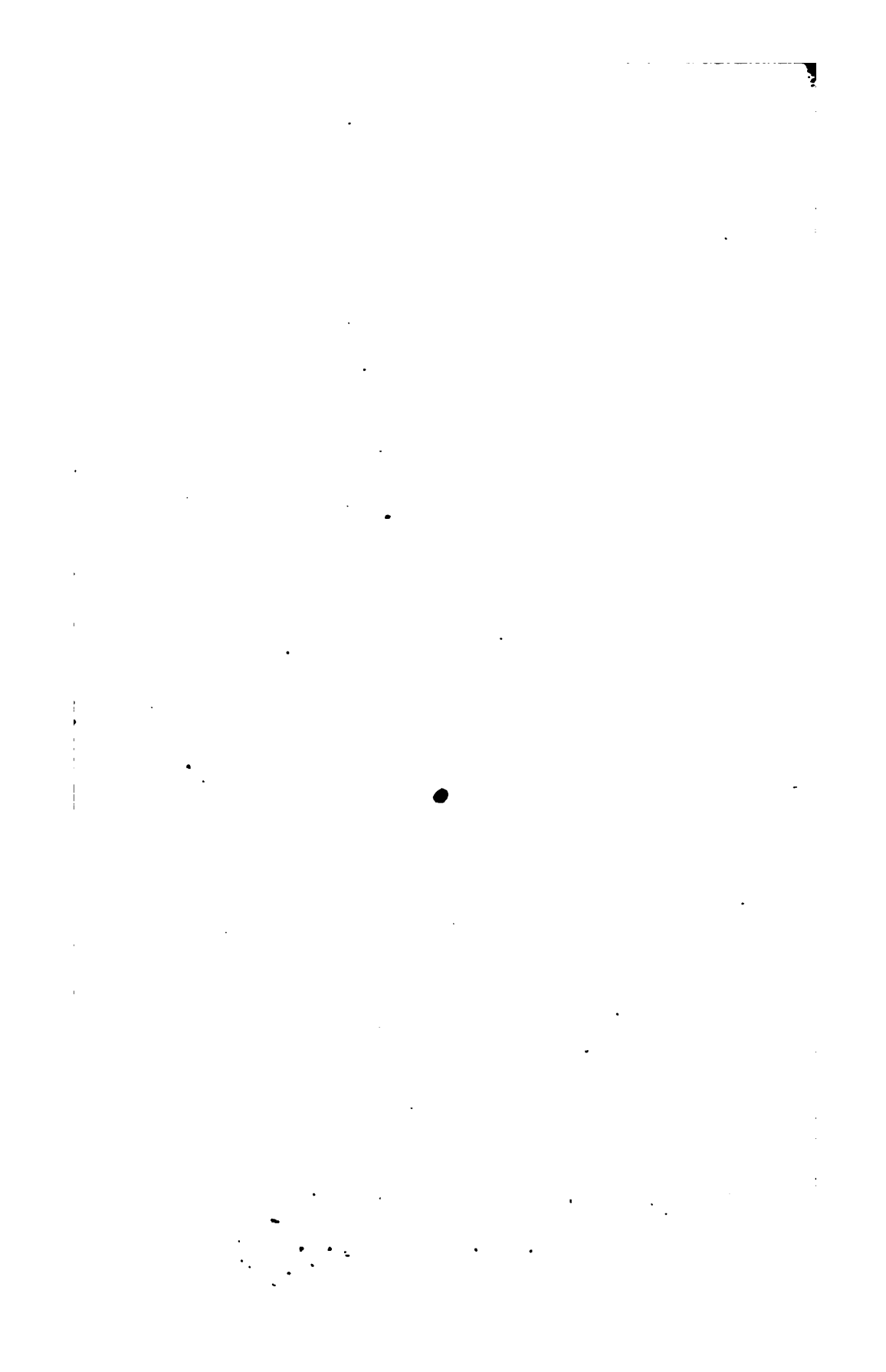


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# ESSAYS

BY MINISTERS

OF

THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

EDITED BY

REV. WILLIAM HANNA, LL.D.

EDINBURGH: THOMAS CONSTABLE AND CO.  
HAMILTON, ADAMS, AND CO., LONDON.

MDCCCLVIII.

*141. b. 228.*

powerful influences being brought to bear on the Church's intellectual life, to quicken and invigorate it? Whatever force there be in the arguments recently used for furnishing our colleges with extra and additional instruments of scholarly culture, may not these arguments with equal or still greater force be used in favour of appending some similar instrumentality to the Christian ministry in Scotland? Bare as our colleges have been, still barer has been the Church. It offers no position of sufficient ease or sufficient income for the continuous cultivation of literary habits—the steady prosecution of literary pursuits. We have no richly-endowed bishoprics; no prebendal stalls or canonries. The genius of Presbytery would refuse these even if they were offered her, and would be content to suffer whatever loss their absence incurred, in order to avoid the other evils of that system of which they form a part. But we have yet to learn that the genius of Presbytery looks in anywise askance upon that high-class theological literature which the rich furniture of the Church of England has enabled it to supply. That literature it is, or ought to be, her ambition to imitate and to rival. Her means of doing so are miserably incomplete; but according to those means, she hath done what she could. She would do more if greater encouragement were held out to her. We have no desire, indeed, to see that encouragement given in such form as would tempt her ministry away from, or in any way indispose them to, the proper duties of the sacred office. The true glory of the Presbyterian ministry will ever lie, not in its scholarly attainments, but in its spiritual life; not in its being so large a contributor to our higher literature, but in its being so large a dispenser among the people of the bread of life. Its status in the country, however, and its general influence for good, must be seriously affected by the position it occupies among the educated classes. It ought to take a leading part in the discussion of all the great social problems which philan-

thropists and politicians are engaged in solving. It ought to keep itself fully abreast of the intellect of the age in all its varied advancing movements. It ought to know something about, whatever sympathy it may have with, the current and lighter literature of the day. There is a large and rapidly increasing section of the Christian laity who, in the exercise of independent thought, are earnestly discussing among themselves theological topics of the gravest import. If the Christian ministry do not take these in hand, and, by its larger learning and greater breadth and depth of thought, lead them on aright, there is not a little danger that, instead of closer union, there be a widening distance, ending in entire divorce. On all accounts, it is most desirable that every possible encouragement be held out to those of our ministry whose tastes and talents may incline them to devote such leisure as they can snatch from a laborious profession to literary pursuits. A ministry such as that of the Free Church has but little of such leisure left to it. Among 700 well-educated men, however, there always will be some, the strong bias of whose nature will lead them to redeem hours out of the busiest life, and consecrate them to reading, reflection, composition. The fewer the number of such, and the less the leisure that they can command, it is all the more desirable that their efforts be well directed and steadily sustained. In one or two extraordinary instances all that could be wished for may be realized by the unaided force of the individual will. There may, however, be equal or greater talent where there is inferior strength of purpose, and either more humility or less ambition. To bring that latent talent into exercise—to direct and to sustain its efforts, some strong external stimulant must be applied. Our ordinary religious or literary periodicals offer in their pages an inviting opportunity to any who may choose to contribute to them. It is an opportunity, however, the exclusive cultivation of which has a tendency rather to weaken and diffuse than concentrate and con-



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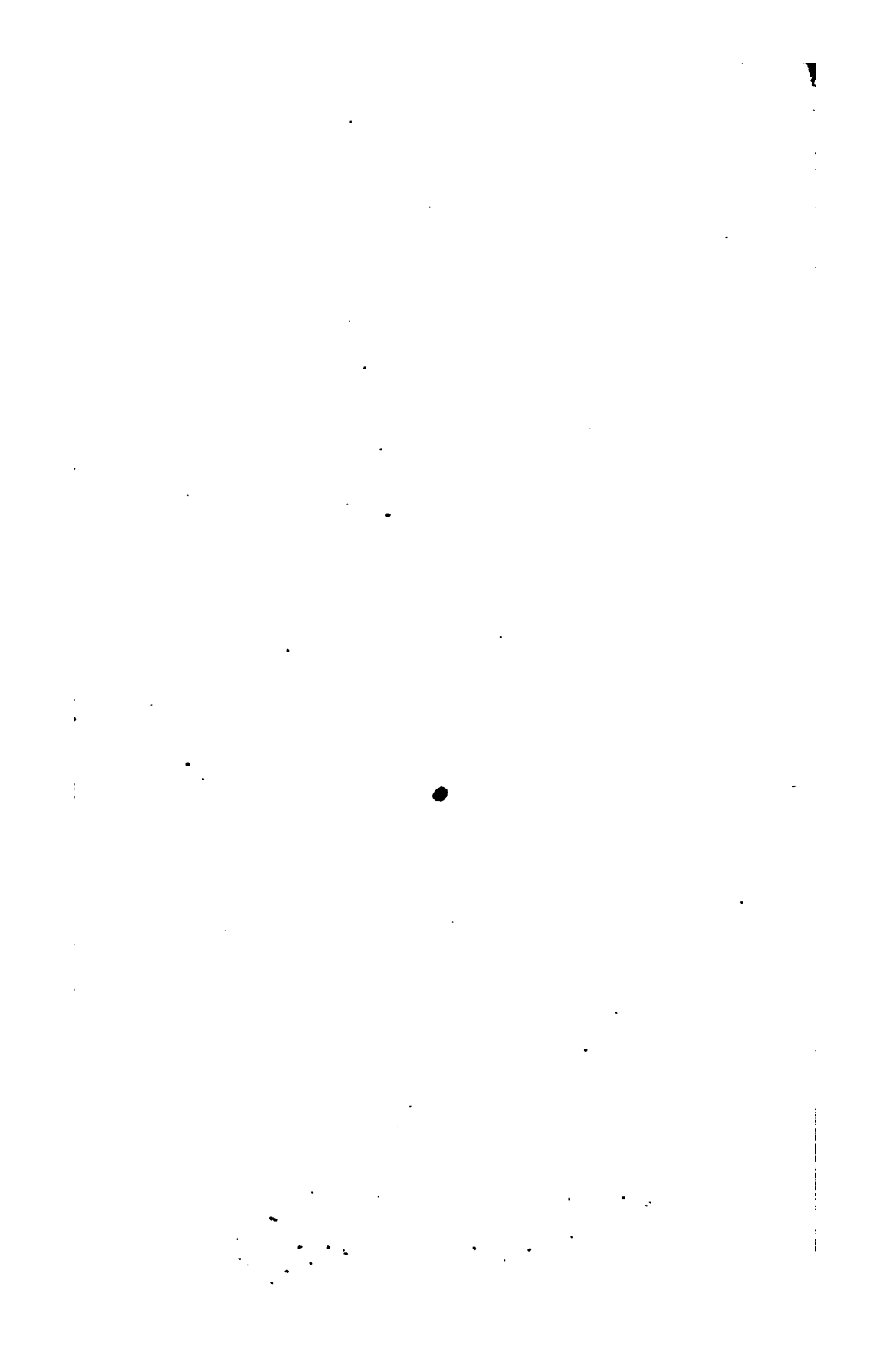


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# CATHOLICISM AND SECTARIANISM.

BY THE

REV. ISLAY BURNS, M.A.

MINISTER OF ST. PETER'S FREE CHURCH, DUNDEE.



## CATHOLICISM AND SECTARIANISM.

“ Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam, Sanctorum communionem.”

THE various questions which, for more than fifteen centuries, have agitated the Christian world concerning the true idea and constitution of the Church, and which in the course of ages have given birth to so many controversies and so many schisms, are all resolvable more or less into one—the question of *Unity*. Apparently distinct, and branching out into regions of thought the most diverse, they yet all converge on this single central point. They respect either the unity of *doctrine*, the unity of *fellowship*, or the unity of *life*;—the one faith, the one communion, the one spirit of Christ’s mystical body on the earth. To the first head belong all questions concerning authority and the standard and test of truth; to the second, concerning the centre of unity and terms of ecclesiastical communion; to the third, concerning the channel and conditions of spiritual life; and all alike presuppose as their common basis, an idea still more primary and fundamental—that of one divine and indivisible body, founded on one faith, united in one holy fellowship, and animated by one divine spirit of life in Christ.

This threefold division of the great general question flows necessarily from the very nature of Christianity itself. In its primary idea and essence it is at once a divine doctrine, a divine society, and a divine life. It is a revelation of God’s truth, the establishment of God’s kingdom, and a dispensation of God’s Spirit. It must, therefore, have a faith, a communion, and a principle of common life. As a doctrine, it must have an infallible standard and test of truth; as a society, it must have a centre and terms of fellowship; as a life, it must have a source



and spring of spiritual influence. Each of these is one, even as Christianity itself is one. Under each head it is a divine institution, one and indivisible. Under each it possesses a character peculiar to itself, and which constitutes its distinctive principle and essence. Under each, the question, What is Christianity? must admit of a distinct and categorical reply, and that reply will shape itself substantially as a solution of these three fundamental problems: What is the one faith of God's elect? What is the one communion of saints on earth? What is the one depository and channel of spiritual influence and grace? Such is the radical principle and main heads of that great argument, which for ages has occupied the thoughts both of speculative and practical minds within the Church of Christ, and which at this hour divides the whole strength of visible Christendom into two vast and irreconcilably antagonistic hosts.

The solution which Rome has given to this great problem possesses one decided and obvious advantage,—its great simplicity. To each of the vital questions involved, it gives a clear, direct, decisive, and unhesitating reply. On each its language is at once positive, authoritative, and, alike in its theory and practical results, intelligible to every one. There is one distinct and visible society, scattered over all countries, and existing in all time; yet everywhere and always, in doctrine, discipline, government, worship, and organic life, one and the same, and marked by certain broad and grand characteristics which unmistakably stamp it as divine. This is the one catholic Church of God—the guardian and witness of the one faith, the household of the one fellowship, and the depository and dispenser of the one spirit of life. Her reply to the first question, is the Infallibility; to the second, the Popedom; to the third, the Priesthood and the sacraments. For the one faith, she points us to her creeds, and to herself as their interpreter; for the one fellowship, to her apostolic see, and all who own subjection to and hold communion with it; for the one life, to every altar and confessional in Christendom. Thus, to all the deepest and most momentous questions which can agitate the human soul—What is truth? Where is rest? Where the fountain and channel of eternal life?—she has one summary and brief reply, and that reply expressed in a single word—Rome. No faith with-

out the Church ; no Church without the Pope ; and without the Church and the Pope, no grace, no salvation. Here, then, is nothing vague, nothing ambiguous, nothing difficult or abstract either in theory or in practice. The way she points is so plain that he that runs may read ; patent alike to the philosopher and the child, to the Roman cardinal and to the Irish beggar, and the only question that remains is—whether it be true or false. That question indeed is not of difficult solution. As a matter simply of rational investigation, it cannot for a moment stand the test either of Scripture or of history. As a scriptural dogma it is a pure figment ; as a fact in history it is a gigantic anachronism. Claiming to be received as a divine and apostolic institution, it is without the faintest trace of its existence either in the apostolic writings or in the apostolic Church for more than two hundred years. A simple and unsophisticated reader, whether of the inspired documents, or of the early Christian annals, far from finding the incontestable evidence of its claims, fails to form even the faintest conception of it, even as a possible theory. Notoriously and demonstrably it was the birth and gradual growth of an after age—an age of civil and social dissolution, and of deep and growing religious corruption, and owes whatever claims it possesses to the reverence and submission of mankind, not to such names as Paul and John and Polycarp, but to those of Damasus and Innocent and Hildebrand. Thus far, then, the issue of this great debate is not doubtful. On the ground of logical argument, the triumph of the Protestant advocate has been from the first, and ever must be, decisive and inevitable. The Roman pretensions have been refuted a thousand times, conclusively, unanswerably, and will be so again and again, whenever the great issues involved are fairly grappled with in the light of Scripture evidence and historical fact. But, unfortunately, even then the work is not more than half done. After all, the Roman theory does not require so much to be refuted, as to be superseded. Like every mighty error, it can be effectually and permanently dispossessed only by the corresponding truth. Its strength lies not in its argument, but in its very presence. Essentially it is its own evidence. It does not so much convince men, as fascinate them. It subdues not by discourse of reason or induction of facts, but

by the mere witchery of its magic wand. Men do not try Rome's credentials and pronounce them valid, but wonder after her and bow before her. There is something, in short, in its whole aspect and form—a certain barbaric vastness and grandeur, a consistency and completeness, a solid mass and stability, together with a simplicity and directness in its mode of dealing with every question of faith and duty, that exercises an irresistible charm, not only over the ignorant multitude, but over a certain class of speculative minds, and which, instead of being destroyed by argument, is not even appreciably affected by it. The truth is that Romanism is strong, not so much as a falsehood, as a perversion of the truth, and can, therefore, be exorcised and overcome only by the manifestation and living embodiment of that truth itself. Albeit in a carnal and perverted form, she yet does present before the eyes of men the semblance, at least, of that grand unity of faith and fellowship and life which essentially belongs to the mystical body of Christ, and even that semblance, poor and earthly as it is, must exercise a mighty influence, aye and until it be confronted with the divine reality. Now, it is precisely here that Protestantism hitherto has shown itself weakest. She has ever been far more successful in overthrowing the theory of Rome, than in realizing her own. Instead of the one faith, of which her adversary boasts, she has seemed to offer only a multitude of opinions; instead of the one fellowship, a medley of conflicting sects; instead of the one life, the isolated and unaided struggles of the individual soul after salvation and peace. That this is an exaggerated representation of the real state of the case is indeed most true. We shall be easily able to show that, amid so much diversity, and much real or apparent contradiction, there yet exists throughout the great evangelic body an essential unity of faith and conviction, which the mere compression of external authority never can produce. Still, this unity, though real, is not apparent. It is latent, not embodied in outward manifestation. Romanism, amid real discord, presents to the world the semblance of unity; Protestantism, amid real unity, presents to the world the semblance of discord; and so long as this continues so, the Church of the Reformation, despite of its unquestionable superiority in argument, must ever fight at a vast disadvantage against an adversary,

which wins the homage of men, not by what she is, but by what she seems to the carnal eye to be.

How this state of things may be best remedied ; how we may most effectually mend, not our argument, but our position for successfully urging it ; how we may prove ourselves mighty, not alone in the destruction of falsehood, but in the reconstruction and practical embodiment of the antagonist truth, is a question worthy of the earnest consideration of our deepest and most thoughtful minds. In the present essay, we can only pretend to glance at some of its more salient points, particularly in its bearing on the circumstances of the present time.

As regards the UNITY OF FAITH, which forms the prime boast of our great antagonist, the subject does not appear to us, as against her at least, to be attended with serious difficulties. If there is one faith on the earth at all—one divine doctrine dwelling at once in innumerable hearts, and yet essentially one and the same in all—assuredly that faith is found, not in the communion of Rome, but of the evangelical churches. One creed, indeed, the votaries of authority may and must have ; but one faith, which is the assent of the free soul to a revealed doctrine, on an inward and personal conviction of its truth, they cannot have. For ourselves, we are prepared to accept the strongest statements of our adversary concerning the essential unity of the true faith, and in their most emphatic and unqualified sense to adopt them as our own. We fully believe that there is one “faith once delivered to the saints,” and that that faith has never been lost. We believe that the promise of the Spirit of truth, while not securing any particular part of the professing Church from the possibility of error, did secure, and has, in point of fact, preserved the Church as a whole from a fundamental departure from the faith. We are even prepared to accept of the celebrated Lerinsian dictum, which has ever been so great a favourite with Roman and Romanizing divines, and to say, that the true Catholic faith is that which has been believed and professed “*semper, ubique, et ab omnibus.*” The faith delivered to the saints, we conceive to be that which all the saints have always and everywhere believed, and in which they have lived and died.

It is not the faith of one age, or of one country, or of one school, or of one sect, but of all in every age, and country, and school, and sect, to whom the Gospel has come home in power, and who are led by the Spirit of God. It is demonstrable, we think, on the fullest and largest induction of relevant facts, that wherever Christianity has been in right earnest received—embraced from the heart, not as a speculation, or a science, or a dogma, but a divine and transforming power for the soul's healing and salvation, it has ever assumed essentially the same form, and been found to turn upon a very few grand fundamental verities, which have fixed themselves as first principles in the inmost depths of the regenerated breast. These truths are at once vital and central, touching the deepest springs of the soul's life, and of its relation to the living God. They are life-and-death truths,—the divine response from the holy oracle to those urgent questions which the awakening soul first puts, and on the solution of which hangs its eternity. The consciousness and infelt sense of ruin by the fall, and of redemption from guilt and bondage through Jesus the Christ—the great deep of human sin calling unto the still greater deep of divine mercy—these, with other connected truths involved in them, or interpretative of them, form the very essence of that one catholic faith which dwells as a principle of new life within every quickened soul. On those two poles the whole system of divine faith revolves. Every regenerated soul throughout the world, and throughout every age, is exercised about them and lives on them. It is the secret treasure of every renovated heart, the hidden spring at once of holy peace and of new-creating energy, springing up unto everlasting life. In short, to use the common popular formula, the living sense of *ruin* in Adam, *redemption* in Christ, and *regeneration* by the Holy Ghost,—that is the one faith of the one Church of all nations and of all times. That faith, indeed, may be more or less clearly apprehended, more or less adequately and articulately expressed, more or less completely drawn out in system, more or less developed in detail and embodied in formal categorical proposition, more or less pure and unmixed with error, but still in essence and substance it is the same. In some the circumference of truth may be wider, and the radiating lines more luminous and distinct

than in others, yet still there is the same centre. It is a faith this which is often rather felt than expressed, lived on than contended for, uttered not so much in dogmas as in prayers. It is the same in the first century and in the nineteenth; it is the same in the East and in the West; it is the same in the schools of theology and in the cottages of the poor; it is the same in the deep revolvings of mightiest spirits, and in the simplest conceptions of lowly piety; it is the same in the Epistles of Paul, in the Confessions of Augustine, in the sermons of Bernard, in the prayers of Luther, in the Contemplations of Hall, in the treatises of Owen, in the hymns of Herbert, in the allegories of Bunyan, in the penitent cries of Andrews, and the seraphic songs of Rutherford—everywhere the same, yet different; in essence identical, in form and colour diverse, even as pure water issuing from a common spring, but passing through different channels, and tinged, as it flows, by different soils. It is the common consciousness of redeemed and regenerated humanity, the echo of the new creation to the voice of Christ, speaking by His Spirit through His Word. Hence, this is in some sort an external authority and test of truth, independent of and beyond the convictions of the individual Christian. Primarily, his faith is drawn from the revealed Word, illuminated and evidenced to his own soul by the all-revealing Spirit; secondarily, it is corroborated and corrected by the harmonious witness of catholic Christendom. The voice of his own heart, or rather of the Spirit within his heart, is re-echoed from the whole living Church, both before him and around him. Thus, in fine, what the common sense of mankind is in the domain of the understanding, and what the common conscience is in the domain of morals, such is this grand consensus of Christian souls in the domain of faith. As the first expresses itself more or less fully and perfectly in proverbs, the second in laws, so this in creeds and articles of belief, but it is itself above and beyond them all. If any tribunal on earth, besides the living oracles, may be called infallible, it is this. We may say of it with truth, what Tertullian predicated of the old baptismal creed, "This rule of faith is wholly one, alone unalterable, and admitting of no improvement. This law of faith remaining, in other things pertaining to discipline and life, you may continually grow, through

the grace of God working in you even unto the end."<sup>1</sup> It is the divine reality of which the enforced uniformity of Popes and Councils is but the carnal and earthly counterfeit.

We do not flatter ourselves that in these observations we have solved the long-pending question concerning essential and non-essential truths,—fundamental and non-fundamental articles of faith. A problem which has for hundreds of years baffled the analysis of the subtlest divines, is not likely so easily to yield to any solvent of ours. That there is a reality at the bottom of the distinction in question all, or nearly all, will admit and feel; but the difficulty is to define wherein precisely the difference lies, and clearly to draw the line between the one class of doctrines and the other. Perhaps we should not greatly err, were we to regard the difference in question as one rather of degree than of essential nature, and speak, accordingly, rather of truths that are more and those that are less essential, than absolutely of those that *are* essential and those that are *not*. The various questions which make up the subject-matter of Christian Theology would then be arranged, not the one part on this side and the other on that, of a sharp dividing line; but rather at different distances from a common centre. What that centre is can scarcely come into question. The great idea of redemption through the incarnation and mediatorial work of the Son of God, revealed and applied by the Holy Ghost, stands out before the eye even of the most superficial inquirer, as the grand central principle and distinctive essence of the Christian revelation. While that, then, is livingly embraced and practically realized, the substance at least of the one faith is preserved intact, and other doctrines and opinions will take rank, in point of essential importance, in proportion as they stand in nearer or more remote relation to it. In this way the greater part of the so-called variations of Protestant Theology will be regarded not as differences of faith, but as diverse developments, more or less complete, more or less pure, of the "one faith once delivered to the saints."

<sup>1</sup> Regula quidem fidei, una omnino est, sola immobilis et irreformabilis, credendi, scilicet, unicum deum omnipotentem, &c. Hac lege fidei manente, cætera jam disciplinæ et conversationis admittunt novitatem correctionis, operante scilicet, et proficiente usque in finem gratia Dei.—*Tertul. de Velandis Virgin.* —

Upon the unity of faith is founded the UNITY OF FELLOWSHIP. The one divine doctrine gives truth to the one divine society. A community of judgment in regard to all that is dearest and most precious to man for time and for eternity, cannot but generate also a community of feeling, of interest, of intercourse, and mutual co-operation and help. Those who, in matters so infinitely vital and sacred, think together, will naturally seek also to walk together, work together, pray together. Hence at once arises the idea of the Church, not as a mere system of doctrines or ordinances, but a living society of believing men, united in holy fellowship in Christ Jesus. This flows, indeed, from the very nature of man as a social being, and of Christianity as a social religion in adaptation to it. The same God that made the family, that made the nation, that made the common brotherhood of man, made also the Church to be a still dearer family, a holier nation, a grander and diviner brotherhood of saints. Hence, the mere fact of the essential identity of faith in the hearts of all true Christians, to which we have already referred, all wonderful and divine as it is, is not of itself sufficient to express the full idea of the unity of the Church. That faith must not only be believed and loved by each separately, but must be held, and professed, and livingly embodied together by all. Every view given us in Scripture of the Church, or of any particular part of it, confirms this. It is the *ecclesia* or common assembly of the saints. It is a flock, not a multitude of scattered sheep. It is a body, not a medley of disjointed members. It is a temple, not a heap of stones. It is a city compactly joined together, not a wilderness of isolated homes. For "there is one body, and one spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all." It may indeed be said, that all this is true only of the invisible Church of true saints, not of any visible society bearing the name; and we, of course, admit that those high attributes never have been fully realized, or, in the present imperfect state, ever will be, in any external fellowship on earth. As the unity of faith lies rather in an identity of inward experience, than of articulate confession, so probably will the unity of fellowship be ever more completely realized in an inward



oneness of heart, than in an outward oneness of communion. Many circumstances, besides mere local separation, may keep those visibly asunder who in feeling and affection, so far as they are known to each other, are wholly one. But what is, is no measure of what ought to be. The necessary imperfection of visible fellowship among Christian men and Christian societies, is no reason why they should not aim and strive after that which they have not yet attained. The divine ideal of the perfect Church is surely the only legitimate standard of duty for the imperfect; and her strength, and beauty, and influence for good will be in very proportion to the degree of her approximation to it. This is emphatically true in the matter of which we are now speaking—the unity of Christian fellowship. Faith is in its very nature an inward thing; fellowship, in large measure at least, outward. Springing from an inward principle, it necessarily seeks its fulfilment and embodies itself in fact. Fellowship can exist only by the *holding* of fellowship; that is to say, by positive relations, and overt acts of mutual affection and brotherhood. It is not love merely, but love carried out in life—love expressing and striving more and more to realize itself in an interchange of loving words and deeds. It is the living contact and communion of Christian with Christian, congregation with congregation, church with church, in a holy association of intercourse, sympathy, action. In the very nature of things, then, visibility is more or less an essential characteristic of it. It is the very condition of its existence, enters necessarily into its definition. You cannot even conceive in your mind the notion of a living society, without including in that notion the idea of actual intercourse and communion amongst its members. It belongs, therefore, as an essential property, emphatically to the Church, considered as visible, in contradistinction to the unseen communion of the saints—being that, indeed, wherein mainly its visibility consists, and by virtue of which alone it stands out before the world, not as a multitude of units, but as one body, one brotherhood, one sacred society in Christ.

The principle to which we are now adverting, may be of great service in helping us to define more clearly what is, and what is not a breach of the unity of the Church. It will be obvious, for instance, if the views we have stated are correct, that a mere

diversity of outward forms of worship and administration does not necessarily constitute such a breach. If the true unity of the Church be a unity of fellowship amongst the members of Christ's body, founded on and springing from a unity of faith, it is manifest that nothing that does not rend asunder that fellowship, can destroy that unity. Schism, therefore, is not a divergence from uniformity, but a severance of communion. It is not the variety of opinions, but the separation of Christians. There may surely be diversity without discord ; difference without alienation. The seamless robe of Christ may be tinged with diverse colours, and yet not rent asunder. There may be a vast amount of essential unity in the midst of outward and circumstantial diversities ; even as, on the other hand, there may be an iron uniformity amid a total want of inward unity. Such diversities may either be or may not be justifiable. They may either turn on matters on which the Word of God has not clearly spoken, or on which its testimony, distinct in itself, has been imperfectly and so variously interpreted. In neither case does the mere diversity constitute a breach of Christian unity ; it does so only when without sufficient ground it is made the pretext for a severance of fellowship, and so a difference of sentiment issues in a renunciation of communion. There may surely be even serious differences among brethren, and one may feel called on emphatically to remonstrate with and protest against what he deems wrong in the other, while yet they cease not mutually to own and treat each other as brethren. Such mutual recognition, in word and deed, between Christian and Christian, and between church and church, constitutes the very essence of ecclesiastical communion ; nor can there be any actual schism in the body, so long as with the unity of the Spirit this bond of peace is preserved.

What amount of diversity indeed in doctrine and discipline, is on scriptural grounds lawfully compatible with the maintenance of ecclesiastical communion, is a different and far more difficult question. That a very considerable amount of such diversity is so compatible, is undeniable, unless indeed we are to accept the Roman principle of a rigid and enforced uniformity ; that again there is and must be a limit to that diversity, if the visible Church is to retain the faintest semblance of

essential unity, seems equally manifest. The difficulty here is to draw the line, and fix the point where forbearance should end, and uncompromising antagonism begin. In the case, indeed, of fundamental heresy, or scandalous moral corruption, we can easily see that it may be not only justifiable, but obligatory on the part of the Church at large, and every sound and living portion thereof, to cut off the offending member from her fellowship, by a formal renunciation of communion. Such an act will correspond in the ecclesiastical world at large, to the solemn excision of an unworthy member in the individual congregation. The same principle that requires our withdrawal from every brother that walketh disorderly, would seem also equally to call for the withdrawal of active fellowship from every community of professing brethren justly chargeable with the same offence. It is to be remembered, however, that such an act is in its nature one of extreme solemnity; that it is the sternest sentence of condemnation which one professedly Christian body can pronounce against another; and that in every such case the *onus probandi* lies with a heavy weight of responsibility on the party that deems itself justified in adopting such a course. The entire renunciation of fellowship with any portion of Christ's visible Church, is essentially an anathema; and anathemas are things not to be touched save with reverent and trembling hand. It is to be justified only by the strongest grounds—grounds which would equally call for the exclusion of the offending body, temporarily or permanently, from the commonwealth of universal Christendom: when these are wanting, it is schism; and the guilt of that schism rests not on the party condemned, but on the party who condemns. The total renunciation of communion, in short, like the amputation of a diseased limb in the human body, is the last extreme of ecclesiastical censure; the deepest brand of reprobation which one professedly Christian society can set upon another; to be adopted, therefore, only on the gravest reasons, and in the last resort, when every other means of correction have been tried in vain. To resort to it earlier, or on lighter grounds, is surely a high offence against Christian charity, and a criminal because needless rending asunder of the visible body of Christ.

If a perfect uniformity of outward worship and order, and even articulate profession of the faith, be not essential to the unity of Christian fellowship, so no more is an absolute identity of ecclesiastical organization. As there may be unity without uniformity, so there may be unity without incorporation. Neither the diversity of forms, nor the plurality of denominations necessarily breaks, though it may more or less impair the bond of Christian brotherhood. There may be fellowship, and that most intimate and sacred, between church and church, even as between Christian and Christian. That fellowship may be in all various degrees, from the slightest acts of kindly intercourse, to the closest ecclesiastical communion. It may be a mere cordial recognition of each other, or it may be an intimate and constant intercourse, or a common participation and mutual interchange of sacred services, or an active co-operation in the work of Christ; and by such means as these the cords of fraternal sympathy may be drawn indefinitely close, while still distinctive principles are maintained, and denominational arrangements preserved. They may be confederated without being amalgamated—knit in close alliance without being merged each into the other; and in this way also, “we being many,” may be “one body in Christ;” and that not really only, but visibly and conspicuously before all the world. An army is still an army, though it is composed of different divisions, or the contingents of different nations, and moves in separate columns on the battle-field. It cannot be denied, however, that in order to this end, there is a certain necessary and comparatively narrow limit to such denominational subdivision. A plurality of Christian communities existing side by side in the same country, may be compatible with a certain unity of fellowship and action, but scarcely an unlimited multiplicity. Multitude breeds confusion, and the almost total loss of common understanding and common sympathy. In the blind medley of discordant sects, the very semblance of visible unity disappears; and the one spirit of brotherhood is merged and lost amid the strife of conflicting views and interests. The boundaries of sect, if they do not arrest, yet certainly most materially interrupt the circulation of Christian intercourse and sympathy, and that interruption will be in direct proportion to the multitude

of points at which it takes place. They are like so many non-conducting spaces in the line of the electric stream, or breaks in the arterial channels that convey the life-blood from the heart. Hence the flow of the vital current through the whole body becomes feeble, interrupted, broken ; and the sense of corporate life and strength for common action in proportion impaired. The smaller the number, therefore, of denominational distinctions, consistent with the free development of individual conviction, the better for the highest interests of Christianity and the Church. It must be admitted, however, that such a limitation of the denominational principle is practically most difficult. Once admit the lawfulness of separation from the general body of the Church, on the mere ground of special views of doctrine or practice, and it becomes hard indeed to draw the line where legitimate secession ends, and schismatical division begins. Liberty in such a case easily degenerates into license ; and that which in itself is only the necessary condition of our present imperfect state, grows into a rooted and mischievous chronic malady. That separation, which can be justified only on the strongest grounds, comes to be justified almost on any ground, and the last remedy against extreme corruption becomes matter of familiar everyday occurrence. When the paramount obligation of unity, unless where the imperious demands of conscience render it absolutely impossible, is but faintly realized, when the great centripetal force of all-uniting love is in any measure weakened, and when in the decay of vital fervour great central truths lose their commanding prominence, and lesser questions of detail rise into unnatural importance, there is scarcely any difference of opinion or practice, which is not thought sufficient to justify, not earnest advocacy only, but the formation of a new communion. Thus a principle is inaugurated, which in its tendency leads to utter disorganization and dissolution. The body ecclesiastical has lost its principle of coherence, and a process of gradual but sure disintegration ensues. Shades of difference, without number and without name, which never ought to have been other than diverse views within one united church, issue in an endless diversity of separate communions, and each successive age yields its fresh harvest of conflicting sects. And thus the solid fabric of visible Chris-

tendom, like a rock split up and broken by minute drops of water freezing within its crevices, gradually falls to pieces in a confused and ever accumulating heap of debris. How much this has been the case in the history of modern Protestantism, it is unhappily needless to say. Coming at first out of the bosom of the mediæval apostasy, with a marvellous and truly divine unity of faith, of spirit, and even general views of order and discipline, it gave early signs of a deep principle of disorganization working from within, which in the course of ages has only more and more manifested itself. The liberty of private judgment gradually degenerated into the license of unlimited separation; difference of opinion, and severance of communion, became mere convertible terms; fragment after fragment, splinter after splinter, was detached from the general mass of Reformed Christendom, till at last, instead of a goodly fellowship of sister churches, little else remains but a chaos of sects. Like the great planet which, according to the speculation of some astronomers, once wheeled its course around the Sun, between the orbits of Jupiter and Mars, it has been disrupted into fragments, and now instead of one primary and majestic orb, we have only a multitude of feeble telescopic stars. These minute separate bodies, indeed, like the tiny asteroids of our comparison, move substantially in the same direction, revolve in orbits but slightly divergent from each other, and cross each other's paths at every point; but the grand simplicity and stately march of the primeval order is gone. The practical consequences of this state of things, are as apparent as they are disastrous. The Church's strength is divided; common counsel and common action are precluded; party rivalries and jealousies are engendered, and spread as a subtle solvent through the heart of the social mass; primary truths sink into the shade, and secondary opinions rise into undue and unnatural importance; partial views and half truths spring up everywhere; in the desperation of self-preservation, each sect enormously magnifies its own distinctive profession, and thus there is a general shifting of the centre from the one faith of Christians to some subordinate point; vital force is wasted to a degree quite incalculable in internecine contests; the world, and individual souls, are bewildered amid the confu-

sion, while the great adversary looks on with triumph, and quietly reaps his advantage. In great cities, indeed, where there is abundant room for the free development of all, and rival sects may hold on each their separate way, like ships on the high seas, with comparatively little risk of collision, these evils are more partially felt; but in small towns and villages, the demon of sectarianism riots uncontrolled. In a community of a few hundred inhabitants, there are often nearly as many different sects as there are hundreds of souls. The result is inevitable. Instead of two or three vigorous and flourishing congregations, a whole crowd of feeble sects struggle for existence, and in the keen tenacity of life mutually prey upon each other. In these circumstances, to exalt each their own distinctive tenet into a life-and-death truth, becomes not so much a temptation, as almost a necessity. They *are* in truth life-and-death truths to them—touching most vitally the very question of their existence as separate bodies. They *live* in fact by the maintenance of those points, and by holding them aloft as the rallying-points of distinctive profession and communion; they are to them the very principle of coherence and corporate existence, without which they would dissolve and fall to pieces. The more insignificant such bodies are in numbers, the stronger the temptation to swell themselves out into factitious importance by the exaggeration of their principles. The more minute the ground of separation from other bodies, the more vehement the struggle in its behalf; just as in war a barely tenable position is held and maintained by the stronger guard. The nearer rival parties approximate in vital faith and principle, the more bitter often is the antagonism, and the greater the eagerness to prove the difference essential. Thus the fair face of Christianity is deformed by the unsightly exaggeration of its lesser features; the one transcendent name is drowned amid the din of other sounds; brotherly love expires amid the rivalries of faction; denominations eye each other with jealous vigilance, and their union is not so much a cordial alliance, as an armed truce; the one faith becomes a chaos of opinions, the one Christian society a hotbed of faction; and the total result is a state of disorganization and anarchy, only less pernicious than that iron despotism

that stifles all free thought, and unites all only by crushing out the life of all.<sup>1</sup>

It is easy, indeed, to see and point out these evils, but it is comparatively difficult to prescribe the remedy. At the same time, the history of the last three hundred years had been written in vain, did it not afford some lessons fitted to aid the Church in avoiding for the future those rocks on which it has split in the past. There are, as it appears to us, at least two causes of avoidable separation that lie on the very surface. These may be designated respectively as despotism and optimism: the one the besetting sin of church rulers; the other of church members. The one party have enforced too much, the other demanded too much. On the one side, terms of communion have been so multiplied, and points not of doctrine only, but of order, discipline, and worship, so minutely defined and so rigidly enforced, that outraged liberty had no resource but in open rebellion and separation. On the other side, there is a kind of morbid conscientiousness on the part of church members which makes each man feel as if personally responsible, not for his own faith and life only, or even for the general soundness and purity

<sup>1</sup> The following, for instance, is a general chart of the sectology of England, as given in the recent census of religious worship:—

Church of England.

Scottish Presbyterians:—

*Church of Scotland.*

*United Presbyterians.*

*Presbyterian Church of England.*

Reformed Irish Presbyterians.

Independents.

Baptists:—

*General.*

*Particular.*

*Seventh Day.*

*Scotch.*

*New Connexion, General,*

*Undefined.*

Society of Friends.

Unitarians.

Moravians.

Wesleyan Methodists:—

*Original Connexion.*

*New Connexion.*

*Primitive Methodists.*

*Bible Christians.*

*Wesleyan Methodist Association.*

*Independent Methodists.*

*Wesleyan Reformers.*

Calvinistic Methodists:—

*Welsh Calvinistic Methodists.*

*Lady Huntingdon's Connexion.*

Sandemanians.

New Church.

Brethren.

Catholic and Apostolic Church.

Isolated Congregations.

Roman Catholics.

Greek Church.

Were an apostolic epistle addressed in our day to the Church in London, as of old to that of Corinth or Rome, it would afford to a modern Tychicus or Phœbe no little perplexity to know where or to whom to deliver the precious roll.



of the communion to which he belongs, but for its absolute conformity in every particular to the standard of the Divine Word. It is not enough for him that in all essential matters of faith and practice it is sound and true, that it exacts no term of Christian communion which his conscience rejects, that he is free to use every means in his power to bring it into entire conformity with what he regards as the perfect Scripture model ; he must be satisfied that it actually does in every respect realize that model, or separate from it. He deems himself in conscience bound to connect himself only with a perfect church, and if he find it not in the communion to which he belongs, he must seek it in another. There is, in his mind, no medium between absolute satisfaction and separation. Accordingly, whenever any particular view is taken on any matter of opinion or practice, which is either not recognised or but imperfectly carried out in any section of the existing church, it is immediately thought necessary to originate a new communion to maintain and embody it, and another fragment or splinter is added to the waste of confusion which has been accumulating from age to age. Thus, while church rulers have often necessitated separation, church members have perhaps as often needlessly precipitated it ; and both causes together have contributed more perhaps than any essential differences of faith or practice to that gradual disintegration of the Reformation Church, which all must alike deplore. Had these two sources of division been throughout avoided,—had Christian churches never sought to enforce as terms of communion aught but what was even in their own view vital and essential, and had Christian people never separated but on the ground of such unlawful terms, or of flagrant and intolerable corruption, it is not too much to say that half the schisms that have rent the Protestant Church might have been spared, and half the party names that now baffle and bewilder the ecclesiastical historian never been heard of.

The retrospect is a sad one, and yet we think it is not without its lessons of encouragement as well as of salutary warning. To lay our hand on the root of the disease is, in very many cases, more than half the cure ; and, in the present instance, we believe it will be found on a close examination of the malady at work that the remedy is not only possible, but that it is already begun.

The disease, we believe, has already passed its worst. Both the morbid tendencies in question have in the main run their course, and exercise daily a less and less influence over the Christian community generally. There is neither in our day the same disposition on the part of rulers to enforce needless terms of communion, nor of the people to separate on every light pretence. The time has gone by when an absolute agreement on every minute point of doctrine, discipline, order, and even views of political and ecclesiastical history, could be prescribed as an essential condition of admission to the sacramental table, or when a separate religious body could be founded on a peculiar view taken of an extinct burgess oath. The tendency of our age is more and more to subordinate lesser differences to fundamental principles, to distinguish between matters of opinion and matters of faith, between special views and catholic verities, between points simply deserving of a more or less earnest advocacy, and points that would justify separation; and, as the consequence of this, the smaller bodies, resting upon a narrow foundation of distinctive principle, are gradually either dying out or coalescing with the larger. This, indeed, may be regarded by some as an evil—as only one out of many tokens of the downward tendency of the age; there are those who shrink from the very name of forbearance in regard to any one matter great or small, as only another name for latitudinarian compromise, and can conceive of no other way of witnessing in behalf of any truth, but in entire ecclesiastical separation from those who impugn it: at all events, however, there can be no doubt whatever of the fact. The principle of vitality in such small communities becomes daily less and less; in the larger sections of Protestant Christendom, greater. Everything tends towards consolidation and concentration—to the drawing together the broken strength and closing in the lines of the great evangelic army. Diverse divisions and distinctive banners there doubtless will still be, but the broken and straggling groupings that now encumber the field will, we may hope, gradually disappear. It may be long, indeed, before the evangelical Church in Europe and America present before the eyes of the world, and in the face of the enemy, that orderly and compact array which the exigencies of the times so urgently require, but yet we do not despair of seeing ere long

a nearer approximation to it than has been witnessed for more than two hundred years. The denominational distinctions of Protestant Christendom, if we lay out of account those minute sections already referred to, and whose period of vigorous life has run its course, reduce themselves mainly to three—the Episcopal, the Presbyterian, and the Congregational.<sup>1</sup> These will, doubtless, still for long survive. They each present a phase of ecclesiastical organization and life so broadly marked and distinct, and have struck their roots so deep into the soil of Protestant Christendom, that they may be expected, it may be for many generations, to hold their ground, and to flourish side by side; but it does not appear hopeless that the limits of denominational variety might be confined more and more to these. Were this hope realized, and were the cords of fraternal amity between the true-hearted throughout the entire Christian commonwealth, drawn progressively closer, we should then be disposed ourselves to wait with comparative patience for the attainment of that more perfect unity of faith and fellowship which may be reserved for a future day. Meanwhile, the existence, to a certain extent, of separate communions, if fraught with many evils, and the result more or less of sin, may not be without its large amount of attendant good. It is probable that each of the great sections of catholic Christendom has much to teach as well as much to learn from the rest, before it could be safely blotted out of the Christian world, and simply merged into one or other of the rival systems. Much as we value our own distinctive platform, and thoroughly as we accept it as founded on, and agreeable to, the Word of God, we should be bold indeed, did we claim for it or for any other, *as actually realized*, an absolute perfection as a complete embodiment of the divine ideal of the visible Church. There may be much we can well believe in the

<sup>1</sup> It may be thought that so large and powerful a body as the Wesleyan Methodists ought to have found a place in this analysis. But we cannot help regarding the constitution of that body, originating, as it did, in a mere society within the Episcopal communion, and still retaining in its separate church capacity the organization proper to its original character, as an anomalous one, and destined to undergo, sooner or later, most important modifications. In that case its principles and methods of administration will probably become assimilated more or less closely to some one or other of the leading types of ecclesiastical polity above defined. In America this is already in large measure the case.

experience and life even of communions widely separated from our own, and whose constitution we may regard as most defective, that is worthy both of our admiration and imitation. If the sister Churches have their besetting sins, they have also doubtless their distinctive graces ; and it is time, perhaps, to consider seriously whether their intercourse might not with advantage lie somewhat in mutual appreciation as well as in mutual protest. This will appear the more probable, if we consider the widely different standing-grounds occupied respectively by the three great Protestant denominations. The Episcopal Church is the representative, among Reformed Churches, of the past. She is the continuation into Protestant times, of the spirit and traditions and general church life of ante-Reformation times. She went upon the principle of conserving what was good, as well as rejecting what was evil, in the existing system, and generally holding that to be good which could not be clearly proved to be bad. Like an old feudal castle repaired and adapted for modern use, or one of those solemn piles built in other days, but which now resound to the voice of her common prayer, she is not a new Church, but literally and strictly a reform of the old. In her the spirit of Cyprian and of Ambrose blends with that of Latimer and Cranmer—the old Nicene theology with the *articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiae*. Such a plan of reform had its advantages and its disadvantages. If it was less searching it was perhaps also less one-sided. If some things were preserved which it had been well for her to have utterly extirpated, and the toleration of which has been to her a root of bitterness ever since, there are probably other elements of the old church life preserved in her which the Protestant Church at large would not willingly let die. With the preservation of outward historic continuity, she has a more intimate inward communion than other Protestant bodies with the Church of the preceding ages ; and accordingly, whatever, in the distinctive spirit of those ages, was of enduring value for all times, finds the most congenial home within her pale. She is, in short, at once patristic and Calvinistic, Catholic and Protestant ; not of the sixteenth century only, but of that and all the rest that went before. In fine, the stately order of her service, its deep devotional cast, the rich freedom of her sacred psalmody, the simplicity and brevity of

her creeds, the prominence throughout all her services of the great incarnation mystery, and the living personal Christ, her sound and sober ethical spirit,—all present features which other reformed communions may study with advantage, with the view of considering not only what they may teach, but what also they may learn.—The Presbyterian Church, again, is the birth of the Reformation age. It is mainly the simple embodiment of its distinctive spirit, distinctive doctrines, and distinctive principles. Clearing the ground alike of the accumulated rubbish of the past, and the stately pillars and arches of the old edifice, it set to work, with the Bible in hand, to rear afresh the fabric of the house of God. It is distinctly a new structure, not a modification of the old ; like a modest, but substantial and commodious Elizabethan mansion rising up beside the ruined and mouldering feudal castle. And what her founders then made her she still substantially remains. While other sections of the Reformed Church have more or less shifted their ground, either in a forward or in a retrograde direction, she rides still unmoved at her old anchorage. Her creed is that of Augsburg and Geneva ; her constitution, with the exception of one single point, that which the great body of the reformed divines made, or would have made her ; and her great theme is the unchanged note of that mighty article which, after the torpor of a thousand years, new-created the Church, and breathed fresh life into the world. If she has her faults, they are those chiefly of defect. The creation of one great epoch, she may bear perhaps the stamp of that epoch somewhat too exclusively. There may be a danger of losing the catholic in the Protestant, the church of all times in the church of the last three centuries. Certain it is, that with many Presbyterians, theology simply means the doctrinal systems of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ; church history, the record of events from the Reformation downwards. Their Christian fathers are Calvin and Knox, and in the perspective of ages, *their* forms seem to touch and blend with those of Paul and John, almost as if the intervening fifteen centuries had never existed. Hence a certain narrowness alike of Christian doctrine and of Christian sympathy. In one point, however, the churches of the Presbyterian model stand pre-eminent. In that marvellous power of concentrated action which her re-

presentative system supplies, and which drew the homage even of the sceptic Hume, as the most perfect ideal of deliberative and administrative government, she forms a model to the whole Christian world, realizing in actual fact, that theory of synodical action to which the Episcopal churches are only feeling their way, and of which the Congregational bodies are more and more recognising the need, with but faint and distant hopes of seeing the desideratum supplied.—In most respects, the Congregational churches<sup>1</sup> are the direct counterpart of the Episcopal. The one rests on the past, the other on the present. The one gives prominence to the ministry, the other to the congregation. The master principle of the one is order, of the other freedom. The one is strong as an institution, the other as a people. The Episcopal Church is the episcopate, the liturgy, her solemn forms and sanctuaries of worship, together, of course, with the Christian flock within her pale. The Congregational is the last, and the last only. It belongs, in short, emphatically to the current age. It mingles with the existing movement of the time, and is a part of it. If it helps to mould, it is also largely moulded by it. With few traditions of the past, with no fixed forms of worship or standards of faith, with no solid structure of positive institutions, her character in any age is simply what the existing state of doctrine and life in her congregations makes her. Generally, as compared with the Episcopal, and even the Presbyterian Church, she bears more or less the stamp of modernness; her prevailing views and tendencies are more of to-day, and if there be anything that is stirring and progressive in the spirit of the time, whether for good or for evil, she is, perhaps, more in the way of catching it. In her the *vox populi*, subject of course to the Divine Word, is the *vox Dei*, and whatever that oracle declares, is for the moment at once her confession of faith and standard of authority. She too has her own peculiar point of strength. This lies in her congregational life. If there be one thing more than another characteristic of the Apostolic Church, it is the intensity of common life, and the rich development of individual activity in her congregations; and this element has been perhaps more completely preserved and carried out in this

<sup>1</sup> Under this general title we of course include both the Baptist and Pædobaptist sections of the great Congregational body.

denomination than in either of the rival communions. Her churches are real *bonâ fide* societies of Christian men and women, knit together in a sacred fellowship of life and love, not mere gatherings of people attending the same place of worship and professing the same creed ; and thus she is specially strong in that very point in which the Episcopal communion, and in some degree also the Presbyterian churches, hitherto have been weakest. Thus, as it appears to us, each of the great sections of Reformed Christendom, however in other respects defective or erroneous, has its own distinctive point of excellence, its special element of strength, in which it may be at once a pattern and incitement to the others. Neither one nor other of them as actually existing is complete without the others—is a full realization of the mind of God in regard to His visible Church. Truth, as it exists in the Eternal Mind, is one and indivisible ; as it exists among men, more or less broken and scattered. We are all of us, in some degree, partial, one-sided, sectional, knowing in part and prophesying in part. As no individual Christian man is a perfect embodiment of the personal life of Christianity, so no individual Christian community of its common and corporate life ; as no one age of the Church is complete within itself, so no one section of it. Each has something to teach, each has also much to learn. The voice of the Church is no mere single note issuing from some one peculiar school or distinctive epoch, but a grand symphony, as the sound of many waters pouring in from every region, and rolling down through every age of her existence on earth. What is most to be desired then, now, is not so much the immediate annihilation of every other system but our own, and the absorption of all ecclesiastical bodies into one all-embracing communion, as the gradual approximation of all toward the perfect standard of the divine will. That system, doubtless, will eventually hold its ground which is most in harmony with that standard, and will, more than any other, impress its stamp on the perfect church of the future, if ever such a church shall indeed exist on earth ; but that church, when it comes, will, we may well believe, be something higher, broader, grander far than any presently existing community. It will be no mere poor continuation of any one stereotyped society, not even of that which we believe to be

fundamentally scriptural and true—a universal episcopacy, or an ecumenical general assembly, or a world-wide congregational union, or a Wesleyan conference for both hemispheres, dividing the habitable globe into circuits and class-meetings; but a glorious church, combining in one whatever was sound, and true, and living, and life-giving in them all, and which, arrayed in all the queenly graces of the divine ideal, shall stand forth before the world, “fair as the sun, clear as the moon, and terrible as an army with banners.”

Meanwhile, let none deem that they have already attained, either are already perfect; let each be quick to learn, as well as faithful to protest and warn; and whereto we have already attained, “let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing.”

Our rapidly lessening space will preclude our entering at any length on the third branch of our theme—the *UNITY OF LIFE*. Here too the Roman falsehood is not so much a simple figment as a perversion of the truth. All spiritual life, she says, is in the Church. In her is salvation, out of her perdition. She is the one body of Christ, wherein dwells the fulness of the quickening Spirit, to be severed from which, therefore, is death. “There is one body and one Spirit,” and that one Spirit dwells alone in that one body. Christ dwells in the body as a whole, not in the separate members; in the temple, not in the individual stones by themselves and apart from each other. Each branch lives in the tree, and all receive the vital sap through one stem, from one hidden fountain. No more, then, can a soul live apart from the Church, than an amputated limb or severed branch apart from the living organism of which it forms a part. Not only is this true of the invisible Church, or true mystical body of Christ, but, in a sense also, even of the outward fellowship of professing Christians. If grace comes at first to the individual soul direct from heaven, and is sustained and renewed evermore by immediate personal communion with Christ the Head, yet it is no less true that it lives, grows, and matures best, not in isolation, but in fellowship with the living body. Christianity is a social religion, and the life of the individual member is intimately linked with the common life of all.



As coal kindles coal on the hearth, so heart kindles heart, spirit kindles spirit, sympathy kindles sympathy in the living fellowship of quickened souls in Christ. So far all is plain and clear, and is in substance admitted alike on either side. All life comes from Christ ; all life resides and effectually works within the Church. It comes from the heart ; it pulses through the body. But here comes the essential point of difference between the two systems, according to which the same identical proposition becomes either a life-giving truth, or a soul-killing falsehood. What *is* the Church—the one body in which resides the one spirit ? It is the Roman hierarchy, says the one system ; It is the congregation of Christ's faithful people, says the other. Wherever there is a priest and an altar in communion with the holy apostolic see, there is Christ, says Rome. "Wherever two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I," says Christ himself, and the evangelic Church after Him in every age. In the one scheme the Church is a mystical instrument, in the other a living society ; in the one a dispenser of grace, in the other a subject of it. In all Roman and semi-Roman teaching, in short, the Church is a vast, mysterious, and awful power, above the soul, and external to it, before which it suppliant bends, as the sovereign mistress of its faith, and arbiter of life and death ; in the biblical and Reformation creed, it is a free community of brethren. Widely divergent, however, as the two systems thus are in their practical results and tendencies, in one respect they both alike point in one direction. The Protestant doctrine as we have now explained it, equally with the Roman, enforces the importance of Christian union, and the pernicious consequences of unnecessary separation in the body. Though grace reside not in sacramental charms, but in the divine communion of quickened souls in Christ, yet none the less is it in the body and inseparable from it. If Christ dwells in His people, not as isolated units, but as a holy society and brotherhood united together in Him ; if the peculiar life of Christianity be in its very nature corporate and social ; if member be knit to member in deepest sympathies, and the sacred influences circulate, as in a mysterious electric circle, from heart to heart, then is it manifest how much the essential vitality and fervour of each member must depend on that of the whole body,

and on his own intimate union and communion with it. Whatever, then, interrupts or impairs that communion, is more or less detrimental to life. Monachism and sectarianism—the individualism of the cloister, and the individualism of the conventicle, are alike suicidal. The fellowship of love is the very native air of Christianity, apart from which it pines and dies. No more can an individual Christian separate himself from his brethren, or one sect renounce the communion of universal Christendom, and yet maintain the life of grace unimpaired, than an isolated ember, thrown off from the glowing hearth, can retain its fire. Indeed, it would seem as if, other things being equal, the intensity of corporate life and energy in Christian communities, were almost in direct proportion to their numerical strength. It is greater, *cæteris paribus*, in a large congregation than in a feeble one ; it is greater in a large and growing denomination than in a minute sect. As in a great city, as compared with an obscure village or country town, the social heart in such a body beats more strongly. There is greater force and impetus in everything ; greater life and freedom ; everywhere a more intense fermentation of thought, feeling, action. Men's views are larger, their aims are loftier, their spirit rises higher. They devise more liberal things, and attempt greater things. They are less occupied with paltry trifles, more with great essential principles. As their position is more commanding, so their horizon is more extended, and their sympathies with everything that is good and noble throughout the catholic world more intimate. If in such a body the fervour of spiritual life, and the tone of Christian doctrine for a season decline, the whole past history of the Church encourages the hope of an after revival and renovation ; whereas small branch churches and fragmentary sects usually have their day of vigorous life, and then finally expire. Their very isolation, and the necessity they are under of living on secondary rather than on fundamental principles, kills them. So was it with Donatism, Novatianism, and other earnest but one-sided sects in early times ; so is it with similar fragments of the Reformation Church at this hour. The great fire of catholic Christianity burns on for ever, while the scattered embers die ; the broad stream rolls on majestically in an ever-

widening channel, while partial side-currents lose themselves in idle eddies or in stagnant pools. The general result, then, of all is plain. Unity is strength, unity is life, unity is ardour, activity, courage, incitement, hope. Isolation is only weakness, decrepitude, and death. The very essence of the Church lies in its fellowship, and it concerns nothing less than its life to preserve that fellowship unbroken, and more and more to cement, strengthen, extend it. For this end everything must be sacrificed—*everything but truth*; and even truth itself, though it may never be compromised, may yet be subordinated to truth higher and broader than itself. Let us unite wherever union is with a safe conscience possible, and so far as it is possible; let us separate only at the imperative call of sacred principles, to be preserved inviolate by no other means. Amid the diversity of our separate communions, let the bright stately image of the one Church throughout all the world live within our hearts, and draw us ever in intense and intenser longings toward the eternal centre of perfect truth and love. Thus we being many shall be even now one body in Christ; and drawing our lines and combining our scattered strength, be the better prepared for that great combat for the very foundations of the faith, which is assuredly coming, and is even now in part begun.

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To obviate the possible charge of mere visionary aspiration, it may be as well in conclusion to set down in a few sentences, the main practical conclusions to which the above remarks are intended to point; and that we may not seem to dogmatize on questions which have been more or less the subject of debate, we shall express them in the form of queries, rather than of categorical assertions:

1. Is there not a radical fallacy at the bottom of the extreme dread entertained by some of the principle of forbearance, or the tolerance to a certain extent of differing views within the same communion, as if necessarily involving a degree of compromise or latitudinarian laxity? Is a truth necessarily sacrificed, because it is not erected into an article of faith, or term of Christian communion? Is there no way of vindicating important principles, but having them embodied in the public profes-

sion of the Church, and enforcing them as matters of essential belief on all its members? On the contrary, might not some truths which have been sought to be asserted by a separation of sect, have been more faithfully, because more effectually, maintained by free discussion and earnest advocacy, within one undivided communion? Certainly the handful of leaven will in ordinary circumstances, work more powerfully and diffusively within the mass, than if separated from it and placed in juxtaposition. As a matter of fact and history, have not men, while seeking a perfect unity of faith and practice within the Church, most often defeated the very end in view, by insisting on an absolute identity—an iron uniformity, not in great essentials only, but in subordinate details?

2. Is it scripturally lawful, in any case, for ecclesiastical bodies, or ecclesiastical rulers, to prescribe *anything* as a term of communion, or essential condition of admission to gospel ordinances, beyond what is implied in a credible profession of Christian faith and discipleship?<sup>1</sup> Has the Church of each age and country really the power to *add* to the common profession of universal Christendom, special articles of its own, in regard, for instance, to such matters as the obligation of national covenants, as tests of qualification for sealing ordinances? Was the Church of Rome wrong in the additional articles appended by Pius v. to the Christian creed, merely because or so far as those articles were false, and not also because they *were* additional? The latter, certainly, has been the prevailing opinion of evangelical Protestants; and yet is not the same principle involved in *any* additions, of whatever kind, and by whomsoever made, as indispensable terms of Christian communion? Or, to put the question in another form, May the Supper of our Lord be warrantably made the badge of a distinctive profession, instead of the seal of a common faith? and may the terms of communion be an entirely different thing here in Scotland, in the nineteenth century, from what they were at Antioch in the first? Might a disciple of Paul or John be lawfully excluded from the sacramental board, aye and till he had

<sup>1</sup> We mean credible, whether tested (as among us) by a simple profession of faith, accompanied by competent knowledge and irreproachable life, or (as among the Independents) by a detail more or less full of inward personal experience.

mastered the whole ecclesiastical history of Scotland, and brought himself to accept *ex animo* the minutest details of a peculiar and distinctive testimony ? These questions, we are thankful to say, are practically answered in the negative, by all the larger Christian communities, both in this country and in America, though the opposite principle is still more or less rigidly adhered to by some of the smaller sects. Would it not have been well for Christianity, both as regards the unity, and all the higher interests of the Church, had the principle now so generally acted on been always recognised ; and would not the main cause of its past disorganization and disintegration have been thus avoided ? For our part, we regard it as the very foundation-stone of all catholicity.

3. Is there in ordinary circumstances, any valid ground of separation from a Church which commends itself to our convictions, as more than any other accordant with the divine Word, besides that of the imposition of unlawful or seriously questionable terms of communion ? If it be granted, that even without such unlawful terms, a certain serious amount of actual defection from faith or purity within the body, would of itself justify secession, still will there not be extreme difficulty in applying such a principle in practice, and fixing the *degree* of corruption necessary to vindicate such a course ? Would not the safer and more scriptural course in all ordinary cases be to testify faithfully and uncompromisingly for what we deem truth, abiding where we are, leaving it to God either to bless our endeavours with success, or by the manifest leadings of His providence to bring us out ? In following such a course, in the spirit of faith and prayer, it will usually be found, that the path of duty at every step is clear as day, however dark and uncertain may be the future ; and when the crisis of separation comes, it will be a matter not of choice but of necessity. It is scarcely perhaps necessary to remark, that in the memorable Scottish secession of 1843, no such question of difficulty arose. It was distinctly a case of unlawful terms, rigidly prescribed and enforced, not indeed by the Church, but over it ; and the stern mandate of civil coercion left the evangelical party no alternative between compliance with what they deemed sin, and the renunciation of their position. Indeed, in strictness of language, the Disrup-

tion was not the separation of a party from the Church, but the separation of the Church itself, or a part of it, from the State.

4. While it is unquestionably the duty of each religious body faithfully to protest against what they regard as wrong in the sister communities around them, or in common phrase, to testify against the defections with which they deem them chargeable, has not the intercourse of churches hitherto been too exclusively of this negative kind? Should they not seek, by a spirit of cordial and candid appreciation, to learn something from each other, as well as enforce what they have to teach—to communicate not as concerning giving only, but receiving too? Profitable intercourse between individual Christians must include both elements; does not the same apply to churches? Is not humility a comely grace, arrogance an offence in Christian communities, as much as in Christian men? and yet what would be thought of any Christian, however otherwise devout and exemplary, whose whole language and bearing towards Christian brethren, was that simply of protest and rebuke? We much fear that the spirit of generous mutual appreciation we are speaking of, is as yet lamentably deficient, even as between bodies who mutually recognise each other's standing as true branches of Christ's catholic church. Would not any proposed improvement in administration or practice, be often *less* rather than *more* likely to obtain a favourable consideration, because previously tried and tested by experience in another Church? Would not a wise ecclesiastical statesman show his tact and discretion, by keeping the origin of the proposed amendment studiously out of sight, and introducing it on its own simple merits, as if never heard of before? The sure way to defeat any project, otherwise apparently feasible, is to give it a bad name; and we fear it must be admitted as a lamentable fact, that often the worst name you *can* give, is that which connects it with a sister branch of the Church of Christ. "The suggestion," people will say, "looks no doubt very plausible, and may have much to be said in its behalf; but—are you not aware, sir, that what you have proposed is a part of the Independent system?" or of the Episcopal, or the Baptist, just as

the case may be. And so the proposal gets its quietus at once.

5. Would not a more intimate and friendly intercourse between different sections of the Church of Christ, and, in particular, the habit of looking at each other with an eye of appreciative sympathy rather than of simple disapprobation and suspicion, lead naturally to a gradual approximation in outward form and discipline, both by assimilation in things indifferent, and by mutual correction and supplementing of defects in things of graver moment? In a state of mutual isolation and repulsion, while serious differences are exaggerated and rendered more inveterate, the veriest trifles are magnified into factitious importance; and a peculiarity of posture comes to bulk as largely almost as an article of faith. An agreement, indeed, in externals is not a matter of primary moment; yet no more can we regard it as a thing wholly immaterial. Though it enters not into the essence of the Church's unity, it does enter, and that most vitally, into the question of the manifestation of that unity before the world. It is surely most desirable that the sister churches of Christ should not only have one heart, but, as far as possible, also one face—one family likeness—proclaiming to all men their common birth, and divine common nature. It is, as we have already remarked, the strength of the Romish Church that her unity seems much greater than it is; the weakness of Protestantism, that her unity seems much less than it is; and is not the best of all remedies for this, that gradual process of assimilation which an increased intimacy of thought and feeling must produce?

6. After all, are not our manifold separations of sect which we are accustomed fondly to ascribe to a paramount concern for the truth, in large measure the result rather of spiritual decay than of enlightened and healthy conscientiousness? Dissolution in the physical world is the consequence of death: the relaxation of organic unity, of the departure of the vital principle. Is it not so also in the body ecclesiastical? In the decay of religious fervour, great central verities lose their commanding influence and vivifying power, and secondary questions usurp their place. Thus the principle of union is weakened, and the

occasions of division are multiplied. The body falls to pieces, because the living soul is gone. The heyday of sectarian zeal was not amid the fresh life of the sixteenth century, but amid the formal scholasticism and dry orthodoxy of the seventeenth. When the Spirit of life shall again breathe on the Reformation Churches, and there shall be a new resurrection as from the dead, shall not member unite with member as by a divine irresistible instinct, and, impatient of every narrower basis, either of union or of separation, rally round the one Centre of truth and life? May God speed the blessed consummation! Let us patiently, yet with longing hope, wait for it—invoking, the while, the common Lord of all, in spirit like that of the quaint old poet, in anticipating another resurrection day,—

“Come away,  
Make no delay,  
Summon all the dust to rise,  
Till it stir and rub the eyes,  
While this member jogs the other,  
Each one whispering, Live you, brother?”

“Come away,  
Help our decay,  
Man is out of order hurled,  
Parcelled out to all the world;  
Lord, thy broken consort raise,  
And the music shall be praise.”





OLD TESTAMENT LIGHT  
ON  
OUR SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

BY THE

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" Their orators thou then extoll'st, as those  
The top of eloquence; statists indeed,  
And lovers of their country, as may seem;  
But herein to our prophets far beneath,  
As men divinely taught, and better teaching  
The solid rules of civil government,  
In their majestic unaffected style,  
Than all the orators of Greece and Rome.  
In them is plainest taught, and easiest learnt,  
What makes a nation happy, keeps it so,  
What ruins kingdoms, and lays cities flat."

PARADISE REGAINED.

# OLD TESTAMENT LIGHT

ON

## OUR SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

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TALK and write with what complacency we may of the onward march of our British civilisation, there is no getting rid of one ugly blot that sadly mars the flattering picture.

In rear of the vast advancing army, lounges a motley mass, sharing in none of the impulses that urge forward the columns in the van and centre; ever tending to lag farther and farther behind; requiring the most devoted attention of many of the noblest spirits of the army; absorbing whole hecatombs of philanthropic effort; but, like Pharaoh's lean cattle, hardly better favoured than before.

Macaulay, in his celebrated contrast of the social state of England in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, has ignored this phenomenon; but in all his four volumes, there is not a more palpable instance of the suppression of historical truth, through love of contrast and brilliant painting.

From his flattering, and, so far as regards the upper and middle classes, very accurate picture of the progress of society during the last two centuries, no one would suppose that at this moment we are encompassed with social problems of almost insuperable difficulty; that as yet, at least, our prisons and penitentiaries are admitted failures; that every year brings up from our criminal courts nearly three thousand convicts, whom no man knows how to dispose of; that transportation, tickets of leave, and penal servitude, have, one after another, been weighed in the balances and found wanting; that refuges and reformatories

have to be established in every large town, almost in every large street, to snatch the infant from the corrupting influences of his home, or try to reclaim him when he has begun to stray ; that no populous town in the empire is without its districts of noted infamy, whose physical pollution is surpassed only by their moral abominations ; that thousands of our mining and manufacturing population are abandoned to the most revolting sensuality ; that in many a damp cellar or naked garret, the starving needle-woman and the industrious slop-worker are suffering a sort of living death ; that want and misery, as well as vice and vanity, are adding thousands from year to year to the class of abandoned females ; or that drunkenness, like a hell-bred monster let loose on us for our sins, is sweeping his nets over the country from shore to shore, gathering victims by the thousand for his frightful sacrifices, and defying every effort to crush his power. Yet such, beyond all question, is one feature of the social condition of Great Britain ; it may almost be called the great fact of the age ; humanity shudders to think of it ; religion rouses herself to her noblest efforts to relieve it ; parliaments, convocations, church-unions, general assemblies, societies, leagues, alliances in every form, make desperate efforts to mend the evil : to a certain extent they are successful, and it is even well when they prevent it from spreading ; but on the whole, it is too like the Slough of Despond,—though “ millions of cartloads of wholesome instructions, brought at all seasons from all places of the king’s dominions,” have been cast into it, it remains at this hour not much better than before.

Does the Word of God throw any special light on these almost insoluble problems ? If it shall be found that it does, it were both folly and impiety to neglect it. Whatever opinion may be held on the bearing of Old Testament enactments on modern society, it is an undoubted fact, that the Old Testament presents a very complete view of the social arrangements of one great nation—the ancient Jews. These arrangements were all planned by Divine wisdom, and were admirably adapted to obviate the evils that form such a drawback to our civilisation. As places of *punishment*, prisons were almost unknown in the Jewish economy. Penitentiaries, pauper-establishments, refuges, reformatories, and ragged

schools, were wholly unknown. Nowhere do we find the State encumbered with masses of criminals, whom it was at its wit's end to dispose of. Individuals of depraved character there were at all times, and again and again public and general corruption of the most flagrant kind disgraced the nation; but of a constant and numerous *classe dangereuse*, ever preying on the honest and industrious, the Jews appear to have been free. And this freedom was not purchased, as in Greece and Rome, by the existence of a large class of slaves, ground by tyranny into abject submission, and expiating the slightest offence with their lives. Among the Jews, slavery existed to a very small extent;<sup>1</sup> it was rather tolerated than sanctioned; and it was qualified by many special enactments for the humane treatment of the slaves, that deprived it almost wholly of the character of slavery. Ancient Judea presented the spectacle of a whole community, enjoying, with few and insignificant exceptions, the same free constitution; subject to the same clear, simple, and comprehensive code; advancing steadily, when the spirit of the constitution was respected, in every department of national prosperity; and leaving behind no vile residuum, diseased almost beyond the hope of recovery, to absorb all the philanthropy—perhaps baffle the utmost endeavours—of the Chalmerses and Shaftesburys of the day.

It is singular what a prejudice lurks in the minds of many

<sup>1</sup> We have occasional statistical glimpses of the extent of slavery in Greece and Rome, but not among the Jews. In the time of Demetrius the Phalerian (B.C. 309), Attica contained 21,000 freemen, 10,000 resident aliens, and no fewer than 400,000 slaves (Thirlwall's *Greece*, vol. vii. p. 326). This gave nearly twenty slaves to each citizen. In Palestine, the proportion was probably about the reverse of this, or as one slave to twenty citizens. The slaves appear generally to have been absorbed into the free population, and even when they remained apart, to have been treated not unlike the rest of the people. This fact places the civilisation of the Hebrews in a much higher category than that of Greece or Rome, and makes it much more applicable to the circumstances of Great Britain. Our problem is not, like that of the Athenian, how to elevate and refine to the highest pitch the condition of the few, at the sacrifice of the many; but how to elevate *the whole* to the highest level, all being under equal laws. It is one of the less obvious, but not less convincing, proofs of the divinity of the Jewish economy, that it had this high object for its aim; it regarded all the members of the community as brothers, and aimed at the comfort and elevation of the whole—not monopolizing all the enjoyments of life to one favoured caste, or dooming the rest to endless, degrading toil, and hopeless, cheerless servitude.

excellent persons, against regarding the Old Testament as an authoritative guide on such topics as the present. Unfortunately, extreme positions have been taken up as to the permanent authority of some of the institutions of the Old Testament, and the vigorous defence of one extreme has usually been followed by a reaction towards its opposite. The Reformers and Puritans generally contended for the perpetual obligation of most of the Old Testament institutions. In their day, what is now called *social science* had hardly come into notice; political principles, or the science of government, especially in its relation to the theocracy, was the great subject of interest and inquiry. A strong historical sympathy linked the Reformers and Puritans to the old Hebrew kings and prophets. In jealousy for the honour of God and His truth; in high scorn for mere human devices in religion and government; and in the deep conviction that the Divine will was the only guide to national prosperity and happiness, they sympathized intensely with the spirit of the Old Testament. The force of their sympathy produced what will probably be regarded as a somewhat extreme and indiscriminate application of Old Testament rules. Under the reaction from this position, a race arose that knew not Moses. The Old Testament was unceremoniously set aside. "Theocracy—peculiar constitution—miraculous history—preparatory dispensation," and other vague phrases came readily into use, in disparagement of the authority of the Old Testament on any point where its teaching was not expressly borne out by the New. The admitted fact that the legislation of Moses was not designed to be a model in all things, was turned into a reason against regarding it as a model in any.

Undoubtedly, it is most difficult to decide how far the *theocratical institutions* of Moses are applicable to other communities than the ancient Jews. The discussion of such a question would require far wider limits and ampler leisure than can be commanded by the present writer. But the same difficulties do not meet us, when the *social* arrangements of the Mosaic economy are the subjects of consideration. To a great extent, these arrangements were adapted to the universal laws of human nature; and always in principle, and often in detail, they are as applicable to the nineteenth century after Christ's

birth, as they were to the fifteenth century before it. We believe it will be found that the basis of British society is so artificial, and differs so widely from the simple Hebrew model, as to make a thorough cure of our social evils, on our present basis, a moral impossibility. From the exertions of such men as Lord Shaftesbury, great good will doubtless arise,—a worthy recompense of the noble efforts of Christian self-denial and philanthropy; but without a somewhat closer approximation to the Hebrew model, we do not anticipate a permanent or thorough cure. Not till Britannia's public men are found, with reverent ear, listening to the voice that propounded the true principles of social prosperity amid the solitudes of Sinai, shall she be able to throw off her great incubus of crime and wretchedness, and walk erect and vigorous, with health, strength, and beauty apparent in her every member.

It is not enough to say, that under the system of Moses, *purity of religious faith and practice* was the first essential to social prosperity. Godliness was more like the animating soul that gave life and power to the whole system, than merely one element of strength, however important. To impress this great truth the more forcibly on the minds of the Jews, it was exhibited in a constant miracle. Periods of religious declension were times when no rain fell to refresh the fields, when the locust, the canker-worm, and the palmer-worm stript every tree and plant of its verdure, or when hordes of enemies swept, like a desolating tornado, over the choicest districts of the country. Faithfulness to religious duty, on the other hand, not only secured freedom from all such evils and miseries, but brought a special supply of social mercies and comforts. This was just the Old Testament method of presenting and enforcing a truth of universal importance and application. It was the broad, bold, palpable mode of instruction, so peculiar to the early dispensation—its large-capital style of printing—plain enough to be read and understood by all, even in the infancy of the human mind. The universal truth, conveyed for the time in this remarkable vehicle, was, that allegiance to God lies at the root of all real prosperity; that, as the spheres of heaven would fall into confusion, unless held in their places by the attraction of the great



central luminary, so the very best arrangements for agriculture, commerce, education, every earthly thing, must lose their virtue, and miss their aim, save when carried on in due reliance on the great Sovereign Power of the Universe—the One great Source of order, prosperity, and blessing.

The particular vehicle in which this great truth was conveyed has fallen to pieces, but the lesson itself has not perished; at the present day it is indeed as applicable as ever. It requires no extraordinary amount of sagacity to perceive that the very best arrangements that could be devised for the improvement of society, would prove quite a failure without that indispensable element, which neither science nor legislation can command—a *good Christian spirit*. A self-denying, kind, considerate temper—a readiness on the part of such as are favoured by fortune, to interest themselves in the welfare of the poorer classes—the absence of envy, jealousy, and discontent, on the part of the poor—a large measure of industry, integrity, self-control, conscientiousness, and all the domestic affections—are as indispensable to the comfortable working of the social machine, as oil to the joints of the steam-engine, or the lubricating fluid to the joints of the human body. The great and only reliable fountain of this fine spirit is earnest Christianity. The example and influence of the love of God in Christ, shed abroad over the heart by the Holy Ghost, is the only power that can effectually check the selfishness and self-indulgence of man's heart, and give force and fervour to self-denying, benevolent, genial affections. It is the great error of secularists, and others who deify Science, that they ignore the necessity of this spirit for the prosperous action of the social machine. Provided the beams and wheels be properly adjusted to each other, they care not whether they be oiled or not. Perhaps their opinions would undergo a material change, if some day they had their wish; if they listened for a time to the horrible grating of the angry mechanism, and at last saw it come to a dead-lock. They might learn to think with more respect of the loving spirit engendered by earnest Christianity, and cease to sneer at allusions to the necessity of the blessing of Providence to social prosperity—"the good-will of Him who dwelt in the bush."

Exactly opposite to the error to which we have just adverted,

is that which regards a good Christian spirit as the *only* important requisite to social prosperity. Some of our most earnest and best philanthropists appear to lean to this error; at least, in practice, they direct their whole energies towards getting the community impregnated with a right spirit, doing little or nothing for amending the structure of the social machine. They seem to think that if only a right spirit can be made universal, the structure of the machine is of no great moment. This is equivalent to the error in mechanics, that with plenty of oil and plenty of steam, any kind of steam-engine will do the necessary work. But in social science, as in mechanics, attention must be given to the structure of the machine in every beam, joint, and wheel. In the social system of Moses, the plan and construction of the machinery were most carefully attended to. A great variety of provisions, admirably adapted to human nature, and fitted to enlist all its sounder tendencies in the cause of social comfort and improvement, were pressed into the service of the commonwealth. Of these provisions we now hasten to treat.

The general features of the system were briefly these. Its basis was the great principle,—PREVENTION BETTER THAN CURE. But this principle was applied at a point much deeper than its place in most of our modern plans. The system of Moses was contrived with a view *absolutely to prevent* the formation of a *classe dangereuse*. For this end, by God's express appointment, every citizen received a substantial interest in the welfare of the commonwealth; industry, forethought, and integrity were encouraged by ample and not distant rewards; the recklessness engendered by over-toil was checked by the interspersing of frequent holidays with the days of labour; the tendency to low sensual indulgence was discouraged, by opening to the people many sources of rational and elevating enjoyment; self-respect and the sense of responsibility were fostered, by giving to each citizen a voice in the government of his tribe and city; the whole nation was raised to a high moral and intellectual platform, by a system of universal education, in which instruction in God's law held the highest place, and all the lofty and inspiring memories of the past were brought to bear on the young

mind at its most susceptible period ; each family was stimulated to noble deeds, by the careful preservation of its genealogy, thus bringing it under the refined but stirring influence of ancestral associations ; incidental cases of poverty were provided with genial alleviations, and the certain prospect of regaining its position within fifty years was held out to every down-broken family ; a kindly and courteous spirit was fostered by a thousand delicate regulations, insignificant in themselves, but very powerful in their influence at large ; the overcrowding of the population was checked, by the careful settlement of the boundaries of each tribe and family ; while attention was given to the laws of health, by the prescription of ceremonial cleansings without number, applicable both to the person and to the dwelling, charged in the main with a deep symbolical meaning, but having, at the same time, an important sanitary tendency. Never, in any constitution, ancient or modern, was so careful provision made for the social department of national welfare ; seldom, indeed, has any express provision been made for it at all. The noble design was grievously crippled, almost frustrated, times without number, by the perversity of the people, especially by their religious apostasies, which constantly brought on them social miseries as their punishment. But, in all fairness, a system like this should be judged by its essential tendencies,—not merely by the results which flowed from it when worked by vicious or blundering hands. Yet, even in its imperfect and broken condition, the social machinery, planned on Mount Sinai, was productive of wonderful results. In the better periods of their history, the civilisation of the Jews was, in many points, not only far in advance of our own at the present day, but far in advance of what we have even begun to contemplate as practicable or desirable. The life of the common people was less slavishly toilsome ; it was more refined, more plentifully provided with the means of recreation, more like the life of cultivated, companionable men, than we have begun to dream of, as proper or possible for our labouring classes. The treatment of the poor was gentle, considerate and generous, to a degree that would but excite the ridicule of many a poor-law guardian of the nineteenth century of the Christian era. It was doubtless in some degree a fruit of the unexampled excellence of their

social system, that long after the Hebrew commonwealth had perished, the Jewish people continued to possess such extraordinary vitality, and to be marked, so much above other nations, for their industry, intelligence, and economy. Long after the destruction of Jerusalem, "beggars, properly speaking, with the exception of such as were afflicted with diseases or infirmities, were unknown in Palestine, and to a great extent, are still unknown among the Jews."<sup>1</sup>

Proceeding now to details, we notice as the fundamental arrangement of the system, *the partition of the whole landed property of the country among all the citizens*. Each free-born Israelite was a landholder, possessing his estate by a tenure, which, so long as the constitution was observed, rendered its permanent alienation from his family quite impossible. At the year of jubilee, every inheritance returned free of all encumbrance to the representatives of the original proprietor. The arrangement was equally opposed to the accumulation of overgrown properties in the hands of the few, and to the loss of all property on the part of the many. The extremes of wealth and poverty were alike checked and discouraged, and the lot eulogized by Agur—a moderate competency, neither poverty nor riches—became the general condition of the citizens. It is difficult to tell what extent of land fell to each family. The portion of the promised land, actually divided by Joshua, has been computed at twenty-five millions of acres.<sup>2</sup> Dividing this by 600,000—the number of families at the time of the settlement—we get forty-two acres as the average size of each property. For a Roman citizen, seven acres was counted enough to yield a comfortable maintenance, so that even in a country of ordinary productiveness, the extent of the Jewish properties would, at first at least, have been most ample. On the death of the father, the law divided the property among the sons, giving to the eldest a double share. Except when there were no

<sup>1</sup> Edersheim's *History of the Jewish Nation*, p. 312. In this interesting and valuable work, much information will be found on the social condition of Palestine, relating, however, chiefly to the period after Christ.

<sup>2</sup> See Professor Wines on the *Laws of the Ancient Hebrews*, p. 388.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, *apud* Wines, p. 388.

sons, the daughters did not share the inheritance. Under this law it is evident that, as the population increased, the properties would slowly undergo subdivision. But for several generations, this, so far from being an inconvenience, would be a positive benefit. It would bring about a more complete development of the resources of the soil. The limestone hills with which the country abounded, would be carefully terraced, and the vine, the olive, the fig, the almond, and the pomegranate, made to flourish in situations where a scantier population would not have thought of rearing them. In point of fact, we know this to have been one effect of the subdivision; and the unprecedented masses of ruins which still cover the land, and are the wonder of all travellers, as well as the remains of terraced enclosures up to the very tops of the hills, prove that, in former days, a large and industrious population must have existed, that turned to account every atom of productive soil. The great rule of the Divine economy was thus amply honoured—nothing was lost.

But elbow-room must be provided for a thriving population; provision must be made against an outstanding evil of peasant-proprietorship—endless subdivision of the soil, inducing a dwarfed, over-crowded, miserable state of society. The arrangements of Moses provided against this evil. In the first place, the doomed populations were not all driven out at once; for the Israelites would not have been able to overtake all the work of cultivation;<sup>1</sup> these nations were to be driven out by little and little; and, as this process advanced, their possessions would avail for the increasing population.<sup>2</sup> Further, the boundaries of the tribes, as settled by Joshua, did not nearly exhaust the territory originally gifted by God to Abraham. Dr. Keith, in his *Land of Israel*, maintains that the original grant included no less than 300,000 square miles, besides Egypt and Assyria in tributary subjection.<sup>3</sup> Michaelis and others are satisfied with considerably narrower limits than this magnificent domain.<sup>4</sup> But wherever we may place “the entrance of Hamath,” “the river of Egypt,” “the East Sea,” and other scriptural

<sup>1</sup> Exodus xxiii. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Exodus xxiii. 30.—“By little and little I will drive them out, *until thou be increased.*”

<sup>3</sup> *Land of Israel*, pp. 162-3.

<sup>4</sup> *Commentaries*, vol. i. p. 54.

boundaries, there is no doubt whatever, that a much larger territory than Joshua divided, was given to the seed of Abraham, and meant to be occupied by them. At the death of Joshua, "there remained very much land to be possessed."<sup>1</sup> It seems to have been the design of God, that the surplus population should go forth in bands, and take possession of the outlying tracts.<sup>2</sup> There is also reason to believe, that God did not intend the whole people to be limited *for ever* to agricultural pursuits. The agricultural life was prescribed during the earlier periods of the commonwealth, as being the most suitable for the acquisition and consolidation of a steady, pious, healthful national character, and thus promoting the great special end for which the Jews were chosen and separated from the world. But when once that special end should have been attained, it seems to have been the Divine purpose to allow the more enterprising pursuits of commerce to be added to the quiet occupation of the fathers. Evidently Moses looked forward to a commercial character being acquired by the Jews, when, glancing at their future history in its propitious aspect, he said: "Thou shalt *lend to many nations*, and shalt not borrow."<sup>3</sup> The singular aptitude for commerce, which has characterized the Jews in all ages and countries, could surely have been no accidental attribute of the seed of Abraham. Placed in the heart of the old world, in a country enjoying splendid means of access to Asia, Africa, and Europe, it seems impossible to doubt, that if, once they had fulfilled their special destiny as witnesses for God and for His truth, until the fulness of the times should have come, the Jews would have been encouraged to hold commercial intercourse with the whole world. Like the Greek colonists in Asia Minor, they might have carried the principles of their constitution into all the districts where they settled; and so have exerted a prodigious influence for good on the condition, social, political, and religious, of the world at large.<sup>4</sup>

There is no reason to suppose that the peasant-proprietorship

<sup>1</sup> Joshua xiii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Judges xviii. and Isaiah liv. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Deut. xxviii. 12.

<sup>4</sup> It is extremely probable that had the Jews been faithful to their special calling, the subdivision of their territory would just have reached the point beyond which it could not have been carried with advantage, when the time came for their entering on their more cosmopolitan career. But all these adjustments were deranged by their unfaithfulness.

of the Israelites induced a stationary and stagnant condition of society, or reduced it to one uniform level—a mere conglomeration of men of uniform wealth, resources, and influence. This is the evil which political economists, opposed to that system, have always been loudest in charging against it.<sup>1</sup> Though the Jewish territory was divided pretty equally at first, it did not, and could not remain equally divided very long. In the ordinary course of Providence, when the direct heirs failed, or when a man married an heiress, two or more properties would accumulate in a single family. Increased capital, skill, and industry, or unusual effort in driving out the remaining Canaanites, would tend further to the enlargement of properties. Even the jubilee would not affect such accumulations as these. Accordingly we meet with “men of great possessions,” like Jair the Gileadite,<sup>2</sup> Boaz the Bethlehemite,<sup>3</sup> Nabal of Carmel,<sup>4</sup> or Barzillai<sup>5</sup> the Gileadite, even in the earlier periods of Jewish history. There was a sufficient sprinkling of men of wealth to give a pleasing variety and healthful impulse to society, without producing the evils of enormous accumulation on the one hand, or frightful indigence on the other. The jubilee was a sufficient safeguard against these abuses. There was also an ample supply of official situations, to draw out and exercise the talents of men of mark and ability all over the country. Each city had its elders, and each tribe its princes. There was a gradation of representative assemblies, to which all citizens were eligible, from the small provincial council to “the great congregation” of the nation.<sup>6</sup> These offices were honorary, without increase of pay, but the want of salary did not impair the influence of those who held them.

While the evils of the small-estate system were thus most skilfully obviated, its advantages were reaped to the full. The mass of the people had a substantial stake in the welfare of the country. It is no wonder that they acquired a romantic and undying attachment to a land where each man sat under his vine and under his fig-tree. Respect for the property of others

<sup>1</sup> The M'Culloch school of economists are the prominent opponents of the small-estate system. Among its supporters are Mill, Sismondi, Kaye, Thornton, and, to a certain extent, Laing, in his *Notes of a Traveller*, and other books.

<sup>2</sup> Judges x. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Ruth ii. 1.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Sam. xxv. 2.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Sam. xix. 32.

<sup>6</sup> See Wines, Book ii., chaps. v. vi.

was a sort of instinct to every citizen, when he had similar property of his own. An air of comfortable independence might be seen on the whole community. "Sons, as plants grown up in their youth; daughters, as corner-stones, polished after the similitude of a palace," were the goodly offspring of such families. Lord Bacon has well remarked, in reference to a similar law enacted by Henry VII. of England, that "it did greatly concern the might and manhood of the kingdom, to have farms, as it were, of a standard sufficient to maintain an able body out of penury; and did in effect amortize a great part of the lands of the kingdom unto the hold and occupation of the yeomanry, or middle people, of a condition between gentlemen and cottagers or peasants. Thus did the king sow hydra's teeth, whereupon, according to the poet's fiction, should rise up armed men for the service of the kingdom."

From its very nature, this system was calculated in a very high degree to promote respect for the rights of property, and thus discourage *theft*—one of the most common species of crime.<sup>1</sup> But besides having this tendency, it afforded peculiar facilities at the same time, for dealing with offences against property, when these happened to arise. In the criminal code of Great Britain, almost the only punishments for offences against property are imprisonment and transportation. In the criminal code of the Jews, these offences were punished by fine. The thief had to restore twofold,<sup>2</sup> fourfold,<sup>3</sup> or fivefold,<sup>4</sup> as the case might be, in the time of Moses; and, as it would seem, in the time of Solomon, when property had greatly increased, sevenfold<sup>5</sup> the value of the theft. If unable to pay the fine, the thief became for a time the servant of the injured party. The punishment appears to have been sufficiently effectual in re-

<sup>1</sup> The offences against property are very numerous in England. In the five years, 1851-55, there were committed for offences against the person, 10,311, and for offences against property, no fewer than 124,231. In Scotland the numbers were 5073, and 13,099 respectively. Mr. Mayhew reckons that of 15·7 criminals among 10,000 of the population, 12·8 are guilty of crimes against property, and of these 11·5 are habitual offenders, and 1·3 casual. (See *Punishment and Prevention*, by Alexander Thomson, Esq. of Banchory, pp. 363-377.) If crimes against property could only be repressed, our great criminal system would shrink into a shadow.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xxii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. xxii. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. xxii. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Prov. vi. 31.



straining the offence, while it saved the criminal from that awful brand of life-long infamy, which imprisonment entails. The ruinous educational effects of imprisonment are beginning to glare upon our legislators. However early the age of the offender, and however mild the discipline of the prison, it is becoming only too apparent, that once he becomes a "jail-bird," his self-respect is usually gone for ever; honest employment he cannot obtain, but by a kind of miracle; he joins the band of Ishmaelites, whose hand is against every man, and every man's hand against them, and becomes an incurable pest to society.<sup>1</sup> Thirty-three hundred years ago, the inspired legislator was fully alive to this dreadful evil, and with that calm unpretending wisdom, which ever marks the Divine procedure, he was directed to ignore altogether the punishment of imprisonment. The more common offences against the person were met by the *lex talionis*—eye for eye, tooth for tooth, blow for blow. Offences against property were disposed of by fines. Obviously this mode of punishment could be applied only in a community where property was generally spread, and where, as a general rule, the amount of property held by each citizen was pretty nearly equal. In the present state of Great Britain, a system of punishment by fines would be most difficult to work.<sup>2</sup> The class of persons commonly arraigned for theft are those who have no property of their own; and where there is property, it is so unequal, that the fine that would plunge one man into ruin, would not press

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Russell Gurney, the Recorder of London, lately narrated the following anecdote from the Life of Lord Chancellor Eldon, as a warning against indiscriminate imprisonment, but without noticing its elucidation of the wisdom of the law of Moses:—"When a boy, he engaged with his brother and another companion in robbing an orchard; he was pursued by the owner of the orchard, a farmer, to the house where he lived; his brother, his father, and himself, were all summoned before a magistrate; and the result was, that a fine of thirty shillings was inflicted on the parent. Lord Eldon, in telling the story, said, that he himself did not much mind the fine, but his father did, and the consequence was, that he gave both him and his brother a good flogging; after that there was no more orchard-robbing. Had the culprits been dealt with as juvenile criminals usually were, was it to be supposed that little Johnny Scott would have sat upon the woolstack, and guided the destinies of this country? No; he would have been disgraced by association with criminals; whereas, the imposition on the father of a fine of thirty shillings led to the exercise thenceforth of a degree of watchfulness, by which the children were benefited through life."

<sup>2</sup> See, however, pages 70, 71.

on another with the weight of a feather. The *adaptation* of the different provisions of the law of Moses to each other—of the system of punishments to the system of property, is a striking proof of the wisdom with which it was contrived.

The quiet country-life to which the universal partition of landed property destined the mass of the Hebrew citizens in the earlier periods of their history, was much less monotonous, and far better fitted to develop and exercise both mind and body than country life has usually been. This effect was due in part to the remarkable variety of climate and scenery which Palestine presented. Mountain and vale, upland wilds and fertile plains succeeded each other, from the gentle slopes of Beersheba, to the towering heights of Lebanon. Within sight of the snow-clad peak of Hermon, might be found the climate and products of the tropics ; from the top of a single hill, the spectator might discern the Great Sea laving the shores of the West, the Jordan winding like a green serpent through its tropical plain, and the desert girdling the South and the East. Such was the diversity of soil and climate, that even on the small estate of a Hebrew citizen, a great variety of crops might be raised. Barley and wheat flourished in the plains ; orchards of pomegranate, fig, olive, almond, and vine, clothed and gladdened the limestone hills ; while the “wadies” and distant “wilderness” afforded pasture for the flocks and herds, under charge of some of the younger members of the family. Each of these varieties of country-life had its appropriate season of festivity and joy. The threshing season, the vintage, and the sheep-shearing were all times of social rejoicing ; and in the case of the godly, they were also times of holy enjoyment, and charitable distribution. The difficult problem of popular amusements was disposed of in this manner, and the amusements provided were not only not pernicious and dissipating, but fitted to exercise and develop the best and holiest feelings of the soul. But this was far from the only interruption to the dull monotony of labour. The HOLIDAY system of the Jews was one of the most remarkable and beautiful features of the economy, combining social relaxation and religious exercises, so as to give religion a much more cheerful aspect than we commonly suppose. Each seventh day brought

its precious interval of entire and holy rest. Besides observing other festivals, all the males repaired thrice a year to the ecclesiastical capital, for the festivals of Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles. All the benefits that the different tribes of ancient Greece derived from their public games, besides other benefits of a higher kind, the Jews derived from these annual gatherings. The time spent on these occasions was divided between the services of devotion, and the enjoyment of free, happy, social intercourse. The people were enjoined to "rejoice before the Lord with all their heart." It must have been highly delightful to look forward to these green spots in the wilderness of labour, and not less so to look back on them. Even the stranger and the bond-servant, if circumcised, could not lawfully be deprived of these times of refreshment. "The man-servant and the maid-servant, and the stranger within the gates" were specially included in the blessed provision of the Fourth Commandment, as well as in the law for the great annual festivals.<sup>1</sup> There can hardly be presented to the imagination a more interesting picture, than that of a group of pilgrims going up to the capital or returning from the feast. The exhilarating influence of a bright Eastern morning—the pleasant excitement of the journey—the happy converse of congenial friends—the joy of welcoming each addition to the company—the rich, full volume of song rising from time to time from the lips and hearts of all—the arrival in the capital—the greetings of friends—the holy convocation—the thrilling recollections of the days and deeds of old—the impulse given to solemn feeling and earnest thought—the journey back—the sight of home—the welcome of wives and children—the fresh zest experienced in returning to ordinary labour—such are the materials from which the man of fancy may draw his pictures of Old Testament life,—pictures that were meant by the gracious Lawgiver to be realized not once or twice in a lifetime, but almost at every change of season,—no less than thrice every year.

But the most remarkable holiday of all was the entire seventh or sabbatical year. A whole year's holiday seems so unnatural as almost to prompt the question, whether the amount of idleness enjoined by Moses was not rather more than enough?

<sup>1</sup> Deut. xvi. 11, 14.

Each seventh day—each new moon—three great annual festivals, consuming probably not less than a month, besides divers scattered feasts and holy convocations—and then, over and above, the whole of each seventh year—was not this just rather much of a good thing ?<sup>1</sup> It is very certain that a life so leisurely would not suit the busy industry and intense competition of the Anglo-Saxon race of the nineteenth century. Yet the observance of the sabbatical year was not only expressly enacted by Moses, but the neglect of it was most severely punished. One of the reasons alleged for the Babylonish captivity was, to allow the land to enjoy the Sabbaths of which faithlessness and cupidity had deprived her. An express miracle was to be wrought to facilitate the observance of the year of rest ; the produce of the sixth year<sup>2</sup> was to prove sufficient for the necessities of the seventh and the eighth. This was another instance of the Old Testament plan of exhibiting important truth in bold relief, so that he that ran might read. It is thus evident, that the sabbatical year (like many of the Jewish institutions) was designed for imitation in spirit only, not in the letter. It was the Mosaic method of placarding in great large letters the truth, that it is not good either for man's soul or body to be perpetually immersed in earthly labour ; that frequent rest and change of employment are needed to recruit the springs of activity, bodily and mental ; and that the too eager spirit of man, in the race for material good, requires to have his seasons of repose authoritatively prescribed for him, since he cannot be safely left to determine for himself, when, and how long, and in what manner, it is proper for him to rest.

It should be observed, however, that the sabbatical year was not a year of absolute idleness. Its provisions were chiefly applicable to the cultivation of arable land ; largely, but not exclusively, to the vineyard and the oliveyard ; but almost entirely inapplicable to the case of the flocks and herds. And during that year, the people do not seem to have been prohibited from prosecuting the mechanical arts. It might be occupied

<sup>1</sup> Michaelis calculates, that besides the weekly Sabbaths, the annual number of regular holidays was thirty. On most of these days, work was not forbidden, and probably on many of them, a pretty busy traffic would be carried on.

<sup>2</sup> Or, according to the reading of some,—the produce of *the six years*.

by them, to some extent, in repairing their houses, in making or refitting their implements of husbandry, or their domestic furniture. This is the more likely, as few of the Hebrews were, at first at least, regular craftsmen. But chiefly, it seems to have been designed for more spiritual and improving pursuits. On this year, at the Feast of Tabernacles, the whole law was to be read over to the assembled nation.<sup>1</sup> It would appear that on that occasion, not the males only but the women and children were to be brought together, and that their attention was to be specially directed to the words of the law. It is plain, too, that on certain occasions, the children were to be present at the Passover—probably on this very year.<sup>2</sup> It seems to have been designed as a year of special activity in religious instruction. Its voice seems to have been designed to call off the attention of the nation from their more material to their more spiritual concerns. Its success, in this point of view, would of course depend on the strength of the spiritual and intellectual life pervading the nation at the time. It is evident that the true *philosophy* of holidays was well understood by the Jewish lawgiver. He knew that to the uneducated and uncultivated, who have no control over their higher faculties, but are slaves to the lowest sensual passions, holidays cannot be deemed a blessing. To release such beings from their labour, were like liberating the maniac from his cell, or the bear from his cage. The holiday is a blessing to those only who have a taste for the pure intercourse of friendship, the innocent excitement of an excursion, the beauties of nature, the pleasures of knowledge and self-improvement, or, highest of all, the holy exercises of devotion. It is most instructive to mark, in the provisions of Moses, the relation which these two things bore to each other—the unusual number and duration of the national holidays, and the matchless excellence of the provision for cultivating the higher tastes and feelings of the people.

This brings us to another department of our subject—the provision for NATIONAL EDUCATION. No plan of public training was ever better entitled to be termed a system of *Education*. The business of literary instruction, so very prominent among

<sup>1</sup> Deut. xxxi. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xii. 26; Luke ii. 42.

us, and often so destructive of the health of the young, occupied a far inferior place ; and the arrangements were so made as to *educate* or *draw out* the mind, and form the character, in the most efficient way. The great object was, to place the young Jew in the position in which he might be most beneficially acted upon by all the educational influences to which the name of "schools and schoolmasters" is most justly due. Foremost among these, was the great school of HOME. In the Old Testament, Home had a peculiarly sacred and important character. The parental and filial relations were guarded with most sacred care. The great founder of the nation had been selected for special honour for his domestic faithfulness.<sup>1</sup> "Honour thy Father and thy Mother"—stood out in bold relief at the very head of the second table of the law. There was no tendency to undervalue the parental conscience, or the parental ability to train,—no wholesale attempt to snatch children from their parents, as if Providence had made an error which man must hasten to correct. Parents were charged in the most solemn manner personally to instruct their children in the knowledge of God's holy law and covenant—that being the chief, almost the only department of formal instruction. They were to teach God's laws diligently to their children, and to talk of them when they sat in the house, and when they walked by the way, and when they sat down, and when they rose up.<sup>2</sup> But the Levites, too, had important duties in the education of the people. Dispersed over the country, and coming into constant contact with the people, they were bound to watch over all that concerned their religious and social welfare ; especially to remind parents of their duty in the religious instruction of their families, to aid them in discharging it, and supplement their efforts by special instructions of their own. A very great value was set on the people becoming acquainted with the *history* of the nation. That history was to be viewed constantly in its connexion with God ;—its *providential* lessons were to be continually studied. Not only by the recital of the facts of the past, but by a thousand other means ;—by monuments erected over the country, by songs and legends, and by impressive religious services, the whole people were sought to be drawn under the solemnizing, elevating,

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xviii. 19.<sup>2</sup> Deut. vi. 7.

yet humbling influences of the history of the past. What thrilling sensations must have rushed through the souls of Hebrew youths, as first they realized the grand events of their national history ! What a mighty stimulus they must have felt to noble resolves, and lofty efforts after great and good achievements !

One of the most remarkable of the educational provisions of the Jews, was the arrangement already mentioned, which called up the males thrice every year to the ecclesiastical capital. It was admirably fitted to remove that dulness of intellectual and emotional life which the country is apt to engender, and give acuteness of understanding and fervour of feeling, as well as courtesy of manners and polish of speech, to the whole population. Somewhat similar was the arrangement, of which we do not expressly read till the time of David, but which must in some shape have existed before, of calling up a portion of the Levites to Jerusalem to serve at the Temple for a part of the year, and sending them back to their localities, when their periodical service was over. The diffusion of intelligence through the whole country was thus provided for ; and had the plan been fully carried out, the remotest districts might at all times have shared the intellectual life and spiritual activity of the capital. In this point of view, the narrow limits of the country (as first possessed), gave Palestine a great advantage. The intellectual and other benefits which the remoter parts of our own country are now beginning to reap from the newspaper, the railway, and the telegraph, were substantially possessed by the ancient Hebrew, through the law that alternately summoned the Levites to the capital, and dispersed them to the provinces.

Such educational influences were fitted to form a national character of a very noble type. Whoever was thoroughly moulded by them must have become a man of cultivated taste, social tendencies, intellectual activity, and high spiritual aspirations. The ample leisure provided for him would be turned to most useful account. The enforced suspension of ordinary labour would moderate the thirst for worldly wealth, and encourage him to think of the improvement of his mind, the social happiness of his friends and neighbours, and the high

claims of the service of his God. The ordinary life of the Jewish citizen, according to the *beau-idéal* of the constitution, was picturesque and pleasing in the highest degree. The materials for its minute delineation are so plentiful, that one wonders our men of poetical fancy have drawn on them so little, and is half-tempted to forsake sober prose, and make an attempt at an ideal representation. The most patriotic heart among us might well be satisfied if the mass of our own people were only brought effectually under the same kind of influences. Alas ! even in the Jewish State, these elevating provisions were often miserably frustrated by the self-will and worldliness of the people. Short-sighted devotion to present and material interests practically repealed the enactments of Moses ; and the cry, " Behold what a weariness is it !" met every demand for suspending, however briefly, the pursuit of gain.

Such arrangements as those on which we have been dwelling, were admirably adapted to check the formation of a PAUPER class. Still, poverty could not be entirely banished—the poor could not altogether cease out of the land. The tender care with which they were directed to be treated was one of the most remarkable enactments of Moses. Even in the best condition of the State, it was not deemed desirable that there should be no poor ; probably because the community could not afford to dispense with the moral discipline which the existence of poverty is designed to promote, in the development of benevolent and self-sacrificing feelings on the part of the rich, and of grateful feelings on the part of the poor. On no part of their social economy did God lay more stress than on the kindly treatment of the poor. The gleanings of the fields and of the vineyards and oliveyards were always to be left for them.<sup>1</sup> The spontaneous productions of the sabbatical year were also to form a part of their provision.<sup>2</sup> They had, in addition, a share of the second tithe, and it was enacted, that when the people carried up this tithe to the annual festivals, they were to share it with the poor.<sup>3</sup> No taxes for their support were wrung from reluctant rate-payers, all was left to the high principle and good feeling of the nation. It seemed to be God's most earnest wish, that the pro-

<sup>1</sup> Lev. xix. 9, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xxiii. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Deut. xxvi. 12.



vision for the poor should be made in the way least fitted to crush their spirit—least fitted to make them feel like a degraded class, or to destroy that self-respect which is so essential to the exercise and development of lofty virtues. The utmost kindness and consideration were to be shown to them. Those who had property were always to be ready to relieve them when the pressure of want was bearing them down.<sup>1</sup> Interest was not to be charged on the money advanced in such circumstances.<sup>2</sup> Articles essential to their comfort were not to be retained as pledges.<sup>3</sup> The near approach of the year of release, when debts were cancelled, was not to steel the heart of the rich man against the application of his poor brother.<sup>4</sup> Every possible provision was made for cheering the poor man's heart. He was buoyed up on every hand, while skirting the borders of the Slough of Despond; and while the year of jubilee continued to be observed, he had always the prospect of better and brighter days. As long as the constitution was upheld with any measure of integrity, it was all but impossible for a groveling pauper class to arise. And it was not merely at the original proclamation of the law that the case of the poor was considered; there was no abuse, except the practice of idolatry, that was more loudly denounced by the prophets than neglect or oppression of the poor. If idolatry was the quintessence of sin against the first table, oppression of the poor was the same against the second. What a contrast to the poor-law system of the present day! No dreary, desolate workhouse was to be reared on the soil of Judea, to be a prison to the young and a grave to the old; no hired inspector was to dole out their handful of pence to scowling and thankless paupers; no board of guardians was to labour to solve the problem, how at once to keep up the law and to keep down the allowance. The poor were still the brethren of the rich; and the aim of the latter, in place of crushing them by degrading distinctions, was to elevate them by generous and kindly treatment.

Besides its express provisions for the poor, the law of Moses abounded in little enactments, designed to smooth and sweeten the intercourse of ordinary life, and thus promote whatever ends

<sup>1</sup> Lev. xxv. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xxii. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Deut. xxiv. 12, 13.

<sup>4</sup> Deut. xv. 9.

of a valuable kind are to be attained by refined and courteous manners. Of this class was the special caution against afflicting the widow and the orphan.<sup>1</sup> Strangers were to be treated with kindly consideration.<sup>2</sup> The traveller uncertain of his route was to be guided on his way.<sup>3</sup> Hospitality was to be free, generous, and unselfish.<sup>4</sup> Wages were to be paid before nightfall.<sup>5</sup> No brother was to be hated or revenged, but loved.<sup>6</sup> The blind and the deaf were to be pitied, and whoever placed a stumblingblock before them was cursed.<sup>7</sup> Honour was to be shown to the hoary head.<sup>8</sup> The persons, as well as the office of rulers, were to be respected.<sup>9</sup> The object of these, and of many similar regulations, was to encourage that delicate regard to the feelings of others which is the soul of true courtesy, and the ornament of civilisation. It would have been too hard to tear a man to war the first year of his wedded life, so he was allowed to remain at home. So also was he who had built a house without having taken possession, and he who had planted a vineyard but not eaten of its fruit.<sup>10</sup> There is no ground for supposing that these kindly regulations were abused, or that they were productive of practical inconvenience to the State. Not being driven to the battle-field, like Russian serfs, but treated and trusted like friends and brothers, the people would not be apt to shrink from the perils of warfare; but, as always happens in similar circumstances, the generous confidence reposed in them on the part of their rulers, would be met by corresponding zeal and devotedness on theirs.

Our view of the social arrangements of the Mosaic law would be very defective if we did not touch upon some of its provisions for promoting the SANITARY welfare of the people. Some of these provisions were indirect, being designed in the main for more spiritual purposes, but some also were direct and express. It is very remarkable, as the importance of sanitary reform is now beginning to dawn upon us in Britain, to see how thoroughly the subject was appreciated more than 3000 years ago. Among

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xxii. 22.<sup>2</sup> Ex. xxii. 21.<sup>3</sup> Deut. xxvii. 18.<sup>4</sup> Lev. xix. 33.<sup>5</sup> Lev. xix. 13.<sup>6</sup> Lev. xix. 17.<sup>7</sup> Lev. xix. 14.<sup>8</sup> Lev. xix. 32.<sup>9</sup> Ex. xxii. 28.<sup>10</sup> Deut. xx. 5, 6, 7.

the provisions that contributed indirectly to cleanliness, and thereby to health, were the injunctions for ceremonial cleansing, whenever ceremonial uncleanness had been contracted. The washing both of the person and of the clothes in water was made imperative on innumerable occasions; for example, when any dead body had been touched, or the carcass of an unclean animal, or after some of the ordinary processes of nature, or when a loathsome disease had been contracted.<sup>1</sup> In a dry hot country like central Palestine, this constant bathing was exceedingly important, but very difficult of accomplishment. The law requiring it made it quite necessary for each inhabitant to have near and easy access at all times, even at the driest season of the year, to a copious supply of clean water. Hence the extraordinary efforts made to convey and preserve large supplies of water, wherever human dwellings existed, the evidence of which in wells, pools, and aqueducts, that astonish every traveller, is one of the most noticeable features of the country at the present day. The difficulty was all the greater, that the crests of the hills were the usual sites of towns and villages. But when the difficulty was overcome, the ample supply of water must have tended greatly to promote habits of cleanliness, even in matters to which the ceremonial law did not extend; and many a disease, many a loathsome sight, many a temptation to sensual excitement, must have been obviated by this simple arrangement. Even in the wide wilderness of Sinai, minute enactments were made for securing a cleanly and orderly camp. Not to dwell on the constant supply of water, miraculously provided, that issued from the smitten rock, nor on the provision against slovenly housekeeping in the rapid decomposition of the manna, we notice the enactment that required all the remains of sacrifices to be burned beyond the camp; that, also, which required each person to carry with him a little spade whenever he went to the outskirts of the camp, for the purpose of covering up offensive matter; and still more, the very solemn consideration by which such enactments were confirmed, well worthy to originate the proverb, that "cleanliness is next to godliness"—"For the Lord thy God walketh in the midst of thy camp, to deliver thee, and to give up thine enemies before thee; there-

<sup>1</sup> Lev. xi., &c.

fore shall thy camp be holy ; *that he see no unclean thing in thee, and turn away from thee.*"<sup>1</sup> We know not how far, in our highly orthodox latitudes, whether Highland or Lowland, the doctrine would now be tolerated, that *physical filth* has its effect in turning away the Lord from the persons and houses of those who tolerate it ; but it is a certain truth ; and we are very sure, that in corrupting and deadening the moral sense of the masses, familiarity with filthy sights, such as present themselves so often in our lanes and alleys, has far more effect than many of our good people dream.

In another department of sanitary economy—the state of their houses—the Jews appear to have been not less in advance of us. Very minute regulations were prescribed for inspecting and cleansing any house where symptoms of leprosy had appeared ; and if milder measures did not suffice to arrest the plague, the house was to be torn down, and the materials cast into an unclean place.<sup>2</sup> In like manner, any part of a house, such as the oven or kitchen-range, where a dead snail or mouse or the remains of any unclean animal should be found, was to be held unclean, and to be broken down.<sup>3</sup> In regard to the size and general arrangements of the houses of the common people, we have no direct information, but a few scattered notices may be found in the Bible. Addressing the multitude in the sermon on the Mount, our Lord directed them, when they prayed, to enter into their *closet*, implying that the houses of the people were usually provided with an apartment suitable for the purpose of private devotion. Besides this, in the houses of such working men as Simon the tanner, at Joppa, the roof was available for similar purposes ; and during a great part of the year, little inconvenience could have arisen from praying, as our Lord often did Himself, in the open air. Mr. Horace Mann, in his remarks on the census of Great Britain, attributes the absence of religious feeling in the lower classes, in some degree, to the crowded state of their dwellings affording no facilities for solitude, reflection, and prayer. In the Hebrew State, this evil, and other evils connected with it, appear to have been entirely obviated. The rapid formation of large and crowded cities was at the same time checked. What are called "cities"

<sup>1</sup> Deut. xxiii. 14.<sup>2</sup> Lev. xiv. 45.<sup>3</sup> Lev. xi. 35.

in Scripture were often mere villages ; for, when the Levites occupied forty-eight of them, their number was only 22,000. As a general rule, these small towns were placed in dry, airy situations, on the crests of hills. Isolated country-houses seem scarcely to have existed ; for the purposes of mutual protection, neighbouring families commonly dwelt together. For many centuries, Jerusalem seems to have been the only really large town in the land ; and it was comparatively late in the history of the commonwealth before Jerusalem came into the hands of the Jews.

Passing over many interesting topics, as our limits compel us to do, there still remains another social arrangement of the Jews, to which, before we draw to a close, we must briefly advert—we mean their system of REGISTRATION.

Again we cannot but notice it as a striking fact, that while, in our own country, a few enlightened men, alive to the benefits of complete and accurate Registration, are as yet struggling with but indifferent success to impress their views on the community, the oldest Hebrew records give evidence of a system in full operation, at that remote period,—not, perhaps, comprehending all the particulars deemed essential now, but, at the same time, embracing others not yet contemplated among us. For the performance of the duty, a special class of officers, termed *Shoterim*, was instituted.<sup>1</sup> It was their duty to preserve the genealogies of the people in a perfect state,—a duty which evidently implied, among other things, a regular registration of births, deaths, and marriages. The system was more complete than ours, because the facts registered were not, as among us, isolated and unconnected ; each fact was registered in its own proper place, as a branch of the vast genealogical tree of which Abraham was the root. The long bleak lists of names that rise here and there, like bare ridges of granite, through the historical books of the Old Testament, have often been a puzzle to spiritual readers. It is comparatively well when the evangelical commentator has passed them with the general remark, that they were necessary to preserve the genealogy of our Saviour, and thus show the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy. In some instances, it has

<sup>1</sup> See Wines, p. 494.

been attempted to fasten on them a mystical meaning—to which practice, perhaps, Paul's warning to Timothy against giving heed to "endless genealogies" may refer. But the light now dawning upon us, as to the comprehensive scope of the Old Testament on the one hand, and the value of a complete system of registration on the other, may afford additional and more satisfactory explanations of the fact, that so many pages of the volume of Inspiration are occupied with these dry catalogues. The facility and certainty with which the genealogy of Jesus Christ could be traced, when such care was taken to have the national register complete, was one advantage, but only one of many, which the system supplied. It was essential for adjusting the arrangements of the year of jubilee. Its utility, on all occasions, in preventing lawsuits and quarrels about property, must have been very great. A very large share of our litigation bears upon the rights of succession; in the Court of Chancery, "Othello's occupation" would be "gone," if there were no disputed property to contend about. In ancient Palestine, there was no Court of Chancery. The simple law of succession, and the well-kept Register, settled nearly every question as soon as it arose. With our proverbial phrase, "the glorious uncertainty of the law," Jewish ears could not have been familiar. Besides adjusting, or rather obviating quarrels, these national Registers were calculated to foster a salutary spirit of self-respect, liable, doubtless, to degenerate into a proud and haughty feeling, but not necessarily having that effect. The pride of ancestry, so offensive a feature in the character of the ancient Pharisees, tones down into a pure and elevating feeling, when a sense of personal demerit before God, and of deep responsibility towards man, become reigning emotions in the heart.

The most difficult part of our task yet remains,—to point these views and considerations to a practical application; to show what use may be made of the Mosaic model, in dealing with our social difficulties at the present day. Now, certainly, it is the very last thing we should dream of, to urge an abrupt or wholesale adoption of the social arrangements of the law of Moses. Some of them, indeed, bearing on such points as the treatment of the poor, the promotion of health, and the regis-

tration of the people, might be adopted advantageously, with little or no change ; but it is not in the letter, it is in the spirit, that most of them are applicable to us. We have traced the wonderful skill and wisdom by which Moses was guided to frame a social constitution for the Israelites, free from the sad evils that afflict most great nations of modern times. But it does not follow, that in the existing circumstances of our country—with our artificial state of society, our commerce, our high mechanical skill, our division of labour, our large towns, and our colonies—the literal adoption of all the Mosaic provisions would either deliver us now, or preserve us in future from these evils. It might be only like a new patch on an old garment—making the rent worse. Any proposal, for example, of an equal partition of landed property, would manifestly be sheer madness and infatuation. But without dreaming of a literal compliance with this arrangement of the Hebrew economy, may we not draw a useful lesson from the *principle* that lay at its foundation ? It was based on the principle, that it is a great advantage to give to the mass of the people a substantial interest in the property, and hence in the welfare of the country ;—to make as many of them as possible *partners in the firm*. A few months ago, Lord Shaftesbury strongly advocated the institution of a Penny Savings' Bank, in connexion with each Ragged School, on the ground that it was most difficult to get thieves to respect the property of others, until they had acquired some property of their own. They had no sympathy with the propertied class—they looked on them only as enemies to be plundered, until, by honest industry, they acquired a little property of their own ; that circumstance transferred them to the propertied class, and enlisted their sympathies in the cause of social order and protection. Lord Shaftesbury's principle is thoroughly sound ;<sup>1</sup> but it seems to demand a wider application than his Lordship contemplated. It is one of our greatest social evils, that the great mass of the lower classes, both in large towns and in agricultural districts, have too little tangible

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hill, in one of his Prison Reports, mentions, that, in 1847, there were about 1000 depositors in the Savings' Bank at Jedburgh (no inconsiderable portion of the population of the district) ; and of these depositors, during a period of five years, only *one* had been committed to prison.

and obvious interest in the prosperity of the country, and in the maintenance of the existing arrangements of society. The last ten years could hardly have passed without an outbreak, but for two things (apart from the religious spirit of the people)—the large amount of *commercial* property in the country, and constant *emigration*. The spirit of enterprise, and the desire of property, have found safe outlet in these two directions; otherwise Great Britain might have shared the fate of many of the continental countries. But is it a healthy or a desirable state of things, when the great mass of the people have no direct interest in the soil of their native country, and no power or prospect of attaining any? Commercial property does not exert the same influence on its proprietor as property in the soil. It does not form the same steady, sturdy character. It does not inspire the same country-loving, home-loving, neighbour-loving spirit. It does not raise such a breed as the old yeomanry of England, or the brave, stalwart Highlanders of Scotland. Better adapted, certainly, to promote enterprise and high-spirited effort, it is yet a more excited, feverish, money-loving spirit. We speak, of course, of general tendencies, admitting many striking exceptions on both sides. No people have exemplified the effects of mere commercial property more strikingly than the modern Jews. In scarcely any country of Europe have they been allowed to become proprietors of the soil. Their exclusion from this and other privileges has led them to devote their whole energies to the acquisition of commercial property, and the degrading influence of this pursuit on their character, is familiar as a proverb all the world over. It is true Conservatism, and true scriptural wisdom, to widen rather than diminish the basis of landed property, and increase the number of families whose earthly interests and feelings are bound up with their country's soil.

But of recent years the tendencies of this country have been nearly all in the opposite direction. The entail law of Scotland has indeed undergone certain modifications, tending in some slight degree to check the unexampled accumulation that has long been advancing. But, on the other hand, the race of small proprietors has nearly passed away; the great lords of the soil, disregarding the prophetic woe, have joined house to house, and



laid field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the land ;<sup>1</sup> crofts and small holdings have been thrown together, to form the "fine large farm ;"<sup>2</sup> whole glens have been depopulated to make room for the sheep and the deer ; and the fine old patriarchal spirit, that found its happiness in the welfare of the tenantry, has, in too many cases, been displaced by the love of pleasure and the lust of gain.<sup>3</sup> The problem of "our farm-servants" haunts us, like a troubled ghost that will not rest. And no wonder ! Their condition is the most hopeless for this world that can well be conceived. The agricultural labourer has no prospect of bettering his condition. In former times the savings of his youth enabled him to stock a small farm, where he could find a home, rear a family, and, when the infirmities of age crept on him, end his days among friends, and have his head laid by his children in the tomb. As the small holdings disappear, all this fair prospect vanishes. Life stretches before him as a dull succession of half-years of hard, homeless, comfortless labour, with the workhouse for his refuge when he can work no longer ; thence, when death claims

<sup>1</sup> Isa. v. 8.

<sup>2</sup> There have, however, been not a few exceptions to this too prevalent practice. Perhaps the writer may be pardoned for referring to an account of an interesting experiment of this kind, written by his father, the late James Blaikie, Esq. of Craigiebuckler, advocate in Aberdeen, and Provost of that city, and published in the Prize Essays of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, vol. v. p. 97. The paper gives an account of the reclaiming of a wild moor, a few miles to the south of Aberdeen, part of the estate of the late John Menzies, Esq. of Pitfodels, and its conversion into a large number of crofts or small holdings. The bleak district thus in part reclaimed, is that celebrated by Sir Walter Scott as the paternal inheritance of the renowned Sir Dugald Dalgety of Drumthwacket. The same volume of Highland Society Transactions contains a paper, describing a similar experiment on the estate of Banchory, by its distinguished and noble-hearted proprietor, Alexander Thomson, Esq. It must be admitted, however, that the privilege of renting a few acres, reclaimed perhaps by themselves from moss or moor, is about the lowest form of reward to the industry and good conduct of our agricultural labourers that can be entertained. Something better than this is surely due to them.

<sup>3</sup> It is but fair to our proprietors to say, that the enlargement of farms is often the effect, not of the spontaneous wish of the landlord, but of the earnest request of the tenant. When a lease expires, a proprietor is told by an old tenant, that he will renew his lease only on condition of obtaining "more land." The old limits are not wide enough for his capital and his enterprise. The proprietor is thus placed in the dilemma of either losing an old and desirable tenant, or of having to throw two or three farms into one.

him, to be carried and tumbled by hirelings into the pauper's grave. Is it wonderful that country lads of spirit are seeking in our large towns and colonies a more inviting and independent sphere ? or that agricultural labourers are becoming so scarce, that the rapidly rising rate of wages threatens to swallow up the profits of the system which has expelled so many of them ? Meanwhile, as the agricultural population is lessening in numbers, and deteriorating in quality, commerce expands with amazing rapidity ; the exports of the United Kingdom have doubled in a few years ; commercial cities are swallowing up broad acres on every side ; and many of the most enterprising young men and young women from the country are rushing to the towns. It would require the greatest skill to keep the country population at a balance, in point of influence, with that of the towns. But, with a few exceptions, there is no trace of such skill. The policy of fostering a healthful agricultural population, strongly attached to the country, is abandoned. The sturdy yeomanry of Old England is little more than a tradition of the past. Nor do any efforts seem to be made to revive it, or to resuscitate the manly virtues that grew and ripened under its happy shade. The spirit of the Mosaic law calls for the opposite policy—a policy that will enlarge, instead of narrowing, the basis of agricultural property ; and develop, instead of withering the virtues of a cheerful, hopeful, contented country population.

Perhaps it will be said that the state of society in France and other continental countries, where property in land is very widely diffused, weakens our view of the salutary educational influence on a people of an interest in the soil. But a careful examination of the state of the case will remove this objection. In France, it is true, the landed proprietors and their families amount to several millions, while no country is in a more unsettled, feverish, revolutionary state. But France lies under the influence of Popery on the one hand, and Infidelity on the other. The state of the family relation is most unsatisfactory. Without the influence of Home and the Bible, what social system could work well ? In political matters, too, it should be remembered that “ Paris is France ;” and that both in the first Revolution and subsequently, country districts, like La Vendée,

stood out most manfully in the cause of order. Further, in France, the *morcellement* of the soil is carried out, by an injudicious and unnecessary law, to a degree that is often quite ludicrous. We have been told that no fewer than 1,800,000 of the "Lairds" of France occupy mansions that do not boast of a single window! Yet, with all these drawbacks, it is quite remarkable how little crime is committed by the landward part of the population. Far ahead of us in *statistical* science, the French classify their criminals, not only according to the character of their crime, but also according to their station in society. In one of the Quarterly Reviews,<sup>1</sup> we find a statement from the work of M. Lepelletier, on *Prison Discipline*, showing that, in 1852, the number of crimes committed by the undernoted professions and occupations was as follows:—

Proprietors and Rentiers,	73
Public Functionaries,	25
Physicians, &c.,	5
Solicitors,	42
Notaries,	152
Artists,	11
Merchants,	531
Sheriff's Officers,	212
Artisans,	2300
Servants,	928
Vagabonds and Beggars,	1800

The small proportion of crimes in the first class, considering the many millions of which it consists in France, and allowing for the drawbacks to which we have referred, is a striking moral argument in favour of a wide diffusion of property in the soil.

With the extension of real property, the spirit of respect for property would be likely to expand, and offences against property to decrease. Whether it would be possible, when such offences did arise, to punish them on the Mosaic principle of double, quadruple, or quintuple restitution, we cannot positively say. One thing, however, seems very plain, that restitution ought to be made imperative on the thief, as part, at least, of his punishment. It is years since Mr. Hill urged this, among other

<sup>1</sup> *North British Review*, No. liii. p. 60.

suggestions, although it has never been adopted or recognised in any form. Mr. Thomson of Banchory is equally clear in favour of this arrangement, and quotes the Mosaic rule in support of it.<sup>1</sup> M. Bonneville, a French writer on Prison Discipline, proposes that *voluntary* reparation by the accused should be held an extenuation of his guilt, but that in no case ought that restitution to be made to the State, but to the party injured. It is also well worth considering, whether the duration of imprisonment for theft might not be shortened, by some regulation giving the convict liberty, after his free earnings should amount to four or five times the value of the article stolen. Those familiar with the working capacity of the thief, if they object to this proposal, will do so, not on the ground of its giving him liberty too soon, but rather as likely to be quite inoperative. It has long been customary to abridge the period of confinement to a convict, in reward for his observance of the prison rules, and general good conduct. But this privilege has never been granted as a special return for the amount of his earnings. The only way in which the convict can benefit by his work in Scotland is thus described in the Regulations of the Prison Board:—In the case of well-conducted prisoners, “the Governor may, with the approbation of the county board, make an allowance in the form of clothes, tools, or money, as may be thought best; but in no case to exceed the sum of forty shillings in case such prisoner shall have been confined for the space of two years, and so in proportion for every longer or shorter period.”<sup>2</sup> The moral effect of this regulation is said to be of no value, and the payments under it exceedingly trifling. In the large prison of Edinburgh the whole sum paid is under £20 a year. But the effect might be very different, if the free earnings of the prisoner, after payment of a certain sum (perhaps under the real cost) for the expense of his prosecution, and for his maintenance in the prison, were to be applied in purchasing his freedom. This would be a real stimulus to labour. Industrious habits would be acquired. A better tone and temper would be encouraged. As a training institution, the prison would have far more effect. It would neither be a lounge for the indolent, nor a palace for the luxurious. Freedom—the first desire of the prisoner’s breast, would

<sup>1</sup> *Punishment and Prevention*, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 358.

rouse the spirit of honest industry—the chief desideratum in the prisoner's character.

But whatever scope there may be for introducing from the Divine economy of the Jews, into the social system of this country, such elements as we have now referred to, and however desirable it may be that our influential philanthropists should turn their earnest attention to that object, we would deprecate, with all our heart, any abandonment or neglect, meanwhile, of those approved agencies of social improvement which are the glory of the age. Promoters of ragged schools and reformatories,—improved dwellings and lodging-houses,—temperance societies,—territorial missions, churches and schools,—book-hawking and colportage,—lectures and special services to the working-classes,—baths and parks,—fountains, washing-greens, and refreshment rooms,—move forward, one and all, in your beneficent career, and the God of heaven guide and prosper your labours ! There is ample room for much hopeful effort in all such directions ; and in many a brand plucked from the fire, many a family rescued from misery, and it may even be, many a soul saved from death, you shall reap your reward ! We do not anticipate that you shall be able to accomplish all the good that is to be done, and that may be done ; it may even be God's purpose to doom your hopes to a measure of disappointment, and lead you, through the study of His Word, to a more enlarged view of the conditions of national prosperity. Meanwhile, according to your light, pursue the path of Christian philanthropy ; and may the God of love increase a thousandfold the number of those who are animated by your spirit, and devoted to your work !

But we have exhausted our limits, and must draw to a close. We remarked, towards the commencement, and we now repeat, that no social arrangements, however excellent, can make a community truly prosperous and happy, without the spirit of earnest scriptural religion, and the all-enriching blessing of God. If, in this paper, we have dwelt chiefly on the subordinate arrangements essential to thorough social prosperity, it is because the nature of our subject has required it, not certainly because we undervalue the importance of the spirit of vital godliness, and humble submissive trust in God. Far sooner should we expect

to see happiness reigning in a rebellious family, while the children continued to disown the authority and renounce the fellowship of the best of parents, than to find real prosperity and healthful progress in a community opposed to the truth of God, rejecting His testimony concerning His Son, and worshipping and serving the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for evermore.

We should be very loath, too, to leave the impression, that even with all the drawbacks that have been mentioned to the social advancement of multitudes in our country, there are insuperable barriers to true happiness in the path of any man who earnestly desires to enjoy it. The *compensations* of Divine providence are as wonderful in the remedying of social, as of personal defects and difficulties. In virtue of these compensations, though deaf, blind, and dumb, even a Laura Bridgeman can be happy. In the same way, Divine grace becomes sufficient even for those who are encompassed with every social disability and misery. The highest powers of their being may be even increased and strengthened by the very necessity laid upon them to turn from all the sources of earthly enjoyment, and draw their happiness solely from the fountain of Living Waters. In this view (with a little more of the Christian spirit), Goldsmith's fine lines are as true of individual cases as they are untrue of a community at large—

"In ev'ry government, though terrors reign,  
Though tyrant kings, or tyrant laws restrain,  
How small, of all that human hearts endure,  
That part which laws or kings can cause or cure !  
Still to ourselves in every place consign'd,  
Our own felicity we make or find ;  
With secret course, which no loud storms annoy,  
Glides the smooth current of domestic joy,  
The lifted axe, the agonizing wheel,  
Luke's iron crown, and Damiens' bed of steel,  
To men remote from power but rarely known,  
Leave reason, faith, and conscience all our own."



# TERTULLIAN.

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## TERTULLIAN.

UNDER the influence of geographical tradition or ethnographical feeling, we do historical injustice to one of the great divisions of our world. Africa has had its share in directing and shaping the destinies of mankind. The first of the great ancient civilisations was African, and it is hard to estimate what, through the Greek and the Jew, has been the influence of the Egyptian. Alexandria, once the literary capital of the civilized world, in which arose that famous school of speculative theology, which from the days of Clement to our own has never wanted its representatives in the Christian Church, was an African city, and must have been more than merely geographically so. It was among the native Copts, not distantly related to the Negro, ethnologists inform us, and at least nearer to the Negro than to the so-called Semitic races,—it was among the native Copts of the Heptanome, the great monastic movement took its rise. Cyprian, the most distinguished ecclesiastic of the ante-Nicene age, to whom the honour or dishonour belongs of thoroughly developing ecclesiasticism, was an African bishop ; so, too, was Augustine, the illustrious founder of Puritan theology, who may be said to have done more than any uninspired man, to form the character of the great Anglo-Saxon race, with whose life and power and progress Augustinianism is inseparably bound. The literature and theology of Alexandria were indeed rather Grecian than Egyptian,—of Carthage, rather Latin than Libyan ; yet is it not of strange interest that so much that is great in the history of man, should even be geographically connected with regions over whose vast extent (save where a few colonies are beginning to root themselves), the darkness of unbroken barbarism now reigns ? But after

the sojourn of centuries, the Greek, the Phœnician, the Latin, must have become more or less naturalized, and there was undoubtedly a real native life in the churches of Clement and Origen, of Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine.

The first name of distinction in the North African Church is that of Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus, the subject of our present Essay. According to Jerome, he was a native of Carthage. The date of his birth is uncertain, but it could not have been much earlier nor much later than the middle of the second century. His father was an officer in the army, and seems to have been able to afford his son a good education. After what special training and what youthful experiences we do not know, Tertullian became an advocate, rose to distinction in his profession, and has perhaps left traces of himself on the Roman law-books.<sup>1</sup> According to the most natural interpretation of his own language, he was born and brought up a heathen, and only in maturer years embraced the faith he had been wont to hate and despise. Some great change there unquestionably was, and we cannot help feeling regret that we know nothing of the way by which his strong passionate soul won its entrance into the kingdom. However this may have been, he became with his whole soul a Christian believer. The notices of the eloquent Carthaginian advocate are scanty before his conversion, they are scarcely more ample after it. Jerome and others say that he became a presbyter, but this we must think is at the least uncertain. The way in which he speaks,<sup>2</sup> in one of his later writings, seems clearly to imply the contrary. The most notable event in Tertullian's life, after he embraced Christianity, was his lapse into the errors of the new prophecy. This was a wild heresy originated somewhere in the latter half of the second century; its author was Montanus a Mysian, and its chief seat was Phrygia. It proclaimed the arrival of the Paraclete, and the dispensation of

<sup>1</sup> "I firmly believe that the Fragments in the Pandects bearing his name, are from our Tertullian."—BUNSEN.

<sup>2</sup> "Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus?"—*De Exhort.* c. 7. It is a noticeable circumstance, that the most eminent ante-Nicene writers of the Latin Church were laymen; there are no clerical authors of that age to rival Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Arnobius, and Lactantius.

the Church's manhood: the new prophets receiving a fuller light in dream and ecstasy. We could not describe Montanism better than by calling it the orthodox Quakerism of its age. The learned recluse of Bethlehem narrates, that some offence he had taken with the Roman clergy drove Tertullian into error. That might have been the Church's solution of his step, but we cannot receive it as the real one. The extreme asceticism, combined with the thorough orthodoxy of the Montanist sect, gave it great attractions for a man whose reaction from heathenism was so vehement,—while the intensity and individuality of his religious experience would prepare him to accept without much difficulty an exaggerated doctrine of the Spirit. The Montanism (as a distinctive creed) of Tertullian, however, does not hold any great place in his writings; after the most anxious examination critics cannot arrange these into the orthodox and heterodox. As explained or rationalized by its illustrious disciple, it is sometimes a mild form of the Romish theory of development, sometimes little more than an application of apostolic principle to new circumstances; and he ever holds fast by the objective authority of the written Word and the historical tradition of the Churches.<sup>1</sup> It does not appear that Tertullian himself claimed revelations of the Paraclete, and in his works which have come down to us we have only two or three Neoprophetic quotations. We do not think that there is much to be made of his Montanism, or that any more is to be made of it than of the lapse among ourselves of a somewhat mild and mystical mind, which yet continues to retain its fundamental beliefs, among the followers of Fox and Penn. He did not take it up in any peculiar love of the absurdities on which we are so apt to fasten our exclusive regard,—just as Father Newman and Archdeacon Manning did not embrace Romanism out of love for Albigenian crusades, or St. Bartholomew massacres,—but because of certain deep affinities between the strict, stern Phrygian sect and his austere anti-worldly spirit. There seems every reason to believe that Carthage was the residence of the Pagan advocate, and that it continued to be the residence

<sup>1</sup> There are some grounds for believing that Tertullian receded from Montanism in its more rigorous type; and perhaps this modified position he assumed, explains the existence of an African sect bearing his name.

of the Christian writer. A theorizing German would make him a citizen of Rome, yet there is no ground to think that he ever did more than bestow a passing visit on the great capital. We know from one of his works that Tertullian was married, and that his wife, like himself, was a believer. Such are the few notices we have of the external life of this remarkable man. But if we have no satisfactory biography of what he did, and what he suffered, and where he journeyed, and with whom he associated, we have ample means of a *real* acquaintance with him in his writings. The distinction between words and works is a useful practical one ; but words are works. In the book a man writes he lives and acts before me, and there is nothing enables me to know him better. We propose then to give a short account of Tertullian's writings, and thereafter to attempt some estimate of him and his place in Christian history.

Not less than thirty different treatises from the pen of Tertullian have descended to our times, and we may well think that as many at least have perished, as we *know* indeed several have done. Printed and bound in our modern style, his works would have made seven or eight solid octavos,—an unequivocal evidence of literary activity, and of a reading Christian public in his age or country. The truth is, we are apt to over-estimate our modern improvements and opportunities. Even printing has not done so much for us as we imagine. Things were greatly different in the mediæval centuries, but in the classical times books were not altogether beyond the reach of the people. Taking the data of Mr. Norton in his valuable work on the Genuineness of the Gospels, it appears that the tradesmen of Carthage could have purchased one of Tertullian's little volumes for a shilling or eighteenpence ; and it is most interesting to think, that among the African churches of the third century, a popular Christian literature was circulated, which æsthetically rivalled or surpassed any that contemporary heathen authorship supplied to the polished circles of the Pagan capitals. We have intimated already, that it is hardly possible to determine accurately between the works of Tertullian the churchman and Tertullian the heretic, and we shall make no attempt at any arrangement upon that basis. We take his writings in the mass, and group them according to the subjects with which they deal.

First of all we have the *Apologetic* writings. It is as a Christian apologist that Tertullian is best known to the general readers of church history; and his *Apologeticus* gives him a high place in that first brave band of spirited defenders of the Christian faith. It is addressed to the Roman governors of North Africa. Tertullian exposes the injustice and absurdity of the legal position the Christians occupy—semi-tolerated, and yet liable to the punishments of the worst criminals—bidden to be sought after, and yet at the cry of a mob, or the whim of a proconsul, sent according to law to toil in the mines, or wrestle in the amphitheatre, or perish at the stake. He vindicates the Christian rejection of the heathen gods, in words of passionate contempt exhibiting their origin and their character; then refuting the horrid calumnies spoken against the Church, he presents a noble picture of Christian worship and of Christian life, eminently fitted to impress every fair-minded Pagan—especially every fair-minded Pagan ruler. No doubt the *Apology* has its blemishes. It might have been better arranged. There are views in it which seem strange to us, or even ridiculous. We think it would have been prudent to speak more courteously, in such a composition, of the established faith. But making all abatements it is a very remarkable performance; a few more such strokes and the tottering bulwarks of idolatry crash to the dust; a few more such rallying voices and the gods are overcome. Nothing strikes us more than the faith of its writer. The Christians are in a depressed and suffering condition; the sword of persecution is suspended over them; they are outlaws on whom the whole force of the empire at any time may fall,—yet Tertullian speaks almost in the tones of the conqueror. “Cruciate, torquete, dammate, atterite nos. Plures efficimur, quoties metimur a vobis; semen est sanguis Christianorum.”<sup>1</sup> Such is the gauntlet which, in conclusion, the Christian apologist casts down before the Roman chiefs; and we see something of the spirit which bore the cross triumphant through these first centuries of tremendous conflict.

Among the apologetic writings of Tertullian are also reckoned the two books, entitled, *To the Nations*, the tract addressed to

<sup>1</sup> *Apologet.* c. 50.

*Scapula*, and the treatise *On the Witness of the Soul*. The first of these is hardly to be distinguished from the *Apology*, of which some think it is the first rude draft. The *Ad Scapulam* seems to have had reference to a persecution threatened by that proconsul against the Christians of Carthage and the surrounding country. It is conceived in the boldest and most defiant spirit. "We have not sent this little book out of any fear for ourselves, but for you and for our enemies;"<sup>1</sup> it is thus the austere Montanist begins his pleading, and yet he pleads with skill and eloquence. The principle of toleration has never been more finely stated than by Tertullian in this tract. "Of human right," he urges, "and natural power, it belongs to every one to worship according to his convictions; it is not religion to compel religion, which ought to be taken in hand with freely and not by force."<sup>2</sup> The *De Testimonio Animæ* is a singularly interesting and thoughtful little treatise. Though the Christian convictions of Tertullian were deep and strong, and though he had nothing of the sceptical tendency, yet living in a time of peculiar mental unsettlement, a literary man surrounded by infidel literature, he must have sometimes felt the need of a wider experience than his own to rest upon. He looked about him and obtained the aids he required. The soul seemed to him as it were a palimpsest, having a primitive Divine writing obscured by false human writings over it. Sometimes the original and Divine gleamed through the overload, bearing a witness to Christian truth, none could gainsay. "God grant it," "if God will," the heathen said in their incidental talk, not "Jupiter grant it," nor "if Minerva will." "God is good," "God bless thee," "God seeth all things," "God shall judge," "God shall repay,"—these and other phrases were in common heathen use. Tertullian saw in it all a primitive nature revealing its belief in one God supreme, a God of living energy, goodness, omniscience, and righteousness. It was an unwitting testimony from the heathen themselves to those primary truths of revelation they were wont resolutely to oppose in the Christians. Substantially Tertullian's argument is good, and his work may claim to be noted as the first attempt at a philosophy of the experimental evidence. There is much in his handling of his

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Scap.* c. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* c. 2.

subject which reminds us of the strong faith of Dr. Chalmers in the adaptation of the truth to the conscience. One of the most noticeable things in the *Witness of the Soul* (it runs through all his writings), is Tertullian's profound reverence for nature, for primitive and essential, as opposed to corrupted nature—he carefully marks the distinction. Nature is truly to him Divine, and utters Divine words.

A second great class of Tertullian's writings is the *Controversial*. These are very numerous, for Tertullian was essentially a man of battle, a great "malleus hereticorum;" they are precious revelations to us of the man and his time. In this class we have the *Prescription against all Heretics*, the two treatises *On the Flesh of Christ*, and *On the Resurrection of the Flesh*, and a series of writings devoted to the confutation of special heresies.<sup>1</sup>

The *Præscriptio* was one of Tertullian's favourite works—for he many times refers to it, and it has been the theme of considerable discussion amongst scholars. The great mass of the early heretics adopted the New Testament Scriptures, and endeavoured to maintain their cause from them by violent misinterpretations; a few, as Marcion, adopted the convenient theory of interpolations, and, anticipative of the "higher criticism," cut out from the canon and the text whatever did not harmonize with their opinions. What could you make of a Valentinian who was able to weave a wild cosmogony out of the simplest saying of our Lord? or of a Marcionite who needed only to apply his critical scissors and he was at once out of your grasp? Tertullian was an accustomed lawyer, and a bright thought occurred to him. The case of the heretics is prescribed, they have no claim even to a hearing from the Church on their favourite ground of Scripture. His "*plea in bar*" is simply this,—there is a fundamental agreement among the orthodox churches, constituting the great mass of the Christian body, on the main points of Christian doctrine; these all believe in one God, the only Creator of the world, who made all things of nothing by His word,—in the Word, His Son, who became

<sup>1</sup> We have also the *Scorpiace* (a noble tract), against the lax and pretentious views of the Gnostics on the duty of confessing Christ; and the *De Anima*, a polemical exposition of Tertullian's ontology and psychology.



flesh, preached the kingdom of heaven, wrought miracles, was nailed upon the cross, rose the third day from the grave, ascended to the right hand of the Father, sent the vicarious power of the Holy Spirit, and is about to come in glory to take His people to the enjoyment of eternal life, and to condemn the wicked to perpetual fire. But many churches can trace their origin to Apostles or apostolic men, and the probabilities are very strong that as they received the truth of God from those who had it to bestow, they have kept the sacred deposit; for there is no account of any general falling away, and it is altogether inconceivable that so many independent communities scattered over different parts of the world should have erred into the same creed. By the very fact, then, that the heretics have gone from this universal yet independent tradition, and *that* according to their own acknowledgment, they have lost all title to be so much as listened to as Christian teachers. The argument, in the main, is sound. It is very much the argument which is urged with such admirable eloquence in the first part of the *Restoration of Belief*. We do not mean that the *Præscriptio* is unexceptionable; Tertullian was never a cautious writer, and he had no idea that astute polemics were to be debating on his words. Yet Rome is little served by it. Tertullian never speaks of an infallible tradition, nor of a tradition complementary of Scripture,—nor does he urge tradition for everything, but only for fundamentals. Besides, tradition might be valid, and one might validly reason from it in the reign of Septimius Severus, though not in the fourth century or the fourteenth. The Romish theory of an inspired priestly tradition-word is entirely alien from the scope of the *Præscriptio*, which seems to have been suggested by its author's legal knowledge, and is based upon historical probabilities.<sup>1</sup>

Like the *Præscriptio*, the *De Carne Christi* and the *De Re-*

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps under the Apologetical treatises we should place the *De Pallio*, a characteristic production, in which Tertullian vindicates his wearing of the pallium or Greek cloak. The *De Pallio* implies that its author was a man of note at Carthage. One of its most interesting things is the testimony it bears to the prevalence of the Greek language, of which it is said, "Jam penes Latium est," cap. iii.

*surrectione Carnis* bear on the Gnostic speculations in general. The object of the former is to vindicate the reality and humanity of the Saviour's flesh against the Docetic teachers of the day,—the object of the latter to assert the literal rising of the body, which, as evil-tainted matter, Docetism doomed to destruction : they are not unworthy of the perusal of the modern theologian. The *De Carne* is an important contribution to the doctrine of the Incarnation. Written before the age of theological definition, it has almost an Augustine's or Calvin's precision of statement on a most delicate subject. Neander ascribes to it the merit of first bringing out distinctly the truth of the human soul in Christ as well as the human body—a complete humanity in union with divinity.

Passing on to the works against special heresies or heretics, we have first the *Adversus Marcionem*, a long and elaborate polemical discussion, in which the eloquent Carthaginian has put forth all his strength, and which, no doubt, created a sensation in its day. We know little about Marcion, save his opinions. He came from the shores of the Black Sea to Rome during the reign of Antoninus Pius, had some unsatisfactory correspondence with the Roman church, and ended by setting up as a heresiarch. Neander and Bunsen have slender grounds for the high place they award him in Christian history. In his peculiar views he was not less erratic and irrational than the other Gnostic leaders ; —he held the doctrine of an evil or semi-evil creator of the world in its most extreme form ; he taught an ultra Docetism ; he was an ascetic of the severest type ; he outstripped all his compeers in the eccentric and wilful arbitrariness with which he dealt by the sacred writings. A practical moral element indeed seems to have pervaded Marcion's Gnosticism, and therein his system stands in favourable contrast with others,—at least he is exempt from any contemporary charge of laxity from his orthodox opponents. As to his appreciation of the grace-aspect of the Christian salvation, it was evidently thoroughly one-sided ; and we would require much stronger evidence than is in our possession before decisively concluding that we have more in this than a mere speculative tendency. A heart-realization of the love of God in Christ has not generally dealt in speculative objections to the Biblical anthropomorphism, which we know Marcion did,—nor

has the Marcionite repugnance to the idea of punishment commonly belonged to it. Hippolytus tells us that Marcion was a dabbler in heathen philosophy, as Tertullian also not indistinctly indicates. In all likelihood, if we had a dozen pages of his *Antitheses*, the halo which German scholars have gathered round his name would quickly be dissolved;<sup>1</sup> we might find that if he was not so wild in some respects as Valentinus and Basilides, it was because he wanted their genius and poetry. And at least it is a pure freak of historical theorizing to raise a man, of whom our information is so scant, and whose exaggerations are so extreme, almost above every contemporary, even his Carthaginian antagonist. We suppose he owes his elevation chiefly to the labour Tertullian expended in his demolition, which labour was perhaps owing to the circumstance that the asceticism of Marcion cast a cloud upon the asceticism of Montanus, or that the less imaginative Gnosticism of the Pontian heretic was something with which the African could more cordially grapple. Marcion seems to have belonged to a class of feeble reasoners who get relief from difficulties in belief by shifting them, logically, back a stage, content if they get them out of their immediate vision. The world he saw around him in that melancholy time, could not have come from supreme<sup>2</sup> wisdom and goodness; and he took refuge in the

<sup>1</sup> These views would have to be greatly modified if we could trust the criticism of Bunsen, who imagines he has disclosed to the world a work of Marcion in the well-known letter to Diognetus. But, with the exception of its contempt for the Jews and Judaic ritualism, that eloquent tract is profoundly anti-Marcionite in its entire scope, and is rather the composition of a cultivated gentleman not thoroughly informed, than of a twisted theologian who aimed at church promotion; and there is not one tittle of positive evidence to connect it with the name of Marcion. What sort of historical criticism is this?

<sup>2</sup> Marcion suggests the author of the *Vestiges*. The former had very much the latter's difficulty in connecting the Great and Distant God of his philosophical imaginings with the "animantia minutiora," of which Tertullian tells us he made sport. Indeed, "Vestigism" is but the modern scientific phase of the ancient "Gnosticism." It may be worth the noticing, for Professor Baden Powell's consolation, that he had a great precursor. Saturninus taught that "man was formed by the angels an imperfect image of the Supreme Being—that he crept upon the ground like a worm, in a state of utter helplessness and inability to stand upright, until God mercifully animated him with a spark of life"—of spiritual life that must be—"a moral nature." Has the Oxford professor greatly improved on his master?

thought of a subordinate world-creator, from whom the Christ of God supreme came down to redeem us. Tertullian easily smote his refuge in pieces. "If my God was ignorant of another above him, your God knew not that there was another beneath him. As, says Heraclitus the obscure, it is the same way above and below. Or if he was not ignorant, but the state of matters was present to his knowledge from the beginning, sin and death, and the author himself of sin, the devil, and every evil which my God suffered to exist, all this too is chargeable on thine who suffered him to suffer it."<sup>1</sup> Extreme and one-sided, Marcion had seized hold of the benignant side of Christianity, perhaps, as we have hinted, because that appeared to harmonize with his philosophical conception of a far removed impassible deity; and as has so often been the case with half-Christianized philosophers, he took up an extreme aversion to the punitive energy of Moses and the prophets.<sup>2</sup> The writings of the Old Testament, accordingly, he attributed to the creator God. But as these writings were acknowledged in the New Testament, the New Testament must go through a process of critical purgation. The precursor of the Tübingen school (who in other respects resemble the second century Gnostics), Marcion set Paul in abrupt opposition to the other apostles,—basing his views, like Baur, upon the collision between Paul and Peter at Antioch (which in reality tells the other way), and held Paul alone to be the apostle of Christ. All the books of the orthodox canon accordingly were rejected, save the Pauline Epistles, and an emended edition of the Gospel of Luke. Having thus obtained a pure Christian instrument by a thorough-going application of "higher criticism," he constructed his *Antitheses* with the object of establishing an essential antagonism between the Scriptures of the creator God, and the Scriptures of the good God of Christ. Marcion assails the Old Testament for its immoralities,—it taught revenge of injuries, it authorized the Israelites to defraud the

<sup>1</sup> *Adv. Mar.* lib. ii. c. 28.

<sup>2</sup> It is a common mistake to make this contrast between the sternness of the Old Testament and the mildness of the New. It has a side of truth—God's love is brought more gloriously out in the latter than in the former, and occupies a more prominent position; but where the light is brighter, the shadows are far deeper also. Mr. Maurice, with whom the idea of love overbears all else, has felt this, and finds himself greatly more at home in the earlier than the later Scripture.

Egyptians ; for its contradictions,—it forbade the worship of images, and yet stored the Temple with them ; for its unworthy and oppressive ceremonial, for its gross anthropomorphic views of Deity. These objections are not strange to us ; Tertullian successfully repelled most of them seventeen centuries ago. Take for example, his explanation of the last of the points we have noted. “ Utterly foolish are they who judge Divine things by human, and think that because anger is a passion of corrupt humanity, it is the same affirmed of God as affirmed of man. Distinguish between the natures, and give the different meaning as the different natures require, even when you apply to them the identical word : . . . Deus omnia patitur suo more quod eum pati condecet, propter quem homo eadem patitur æque suo more.”<sup>1</sup> But Tertullian is not content with a negative refutation, he gives a positive exhibition of the pure and noble and generous and loving spirit which animates the books of the ancient Scripture. And carrying the argument still further, he takes Marcion on his own ground,—he takes Marcion’s made-up Bible, and with it he irresistibly proves the inseparable connexion between the Old Testament and Christ, he irresistibly proves that the God of mere benignity is a dream. “ The long and elaborate treatise against Marcion,” says Mr. Norton, “ is a composition that so clearly exhibits the workings of a powerful mind, in which striking thoughts are presented with such condensations of language, expressions stand out in such bold relief, and arguments are sometimes so rapidly developed, as, notwithstanding a difficult style, and a corrupt text, to fix the attention and create an interest in the exposition and confutation of obsolete errors.”

We pass over the tract against the Valentinians, whose speculative dreams afford a fitting theme for Tertullian’s sarcasm ; the tract against Hermogenes, which effectually demolishes the philosophizing painter’s theory of the origin of evil ; the tract against the Jews, chiefly interesting as it shows that the Jewish controversy stood much in Tertullian’s time as it does in our own ;—we pass over these (our space enjoins us) to notice the more important *Adversus Praxeam*.

Praxeas was an Asiatic heretic, who maintained the error known as Patripassianism, towards which, or some form of

<sup>1</sup> *Adv. Mar.* lib. ii. c. 16.

Unitarianism or Monarchianism, there was about this period a tendency. Tertullian had a sectarian grudge against Praxeas at any rate (Praxeas had given evil counsel at Rome concerning the treatment of the Montanists), and he was all the readier, it is to be feared, to fall upon his heresy. The result was a real contribution to the true statement of the doctrine of the Trinity. Consider all the circumstances of the case, consider that the era of the creeds was yet a century away,—and the capacity for doctrinal statement on one of the most recondite subjects in theology the tract displays, demands for its author an honourable position among theologians. Tertullian is substantially Athanasian, almost Athanasian in his terms. He is the first, we believe, to describe the manner of subsistence of the Divine persons in the Godhead, in the now familiar word, Trinity: he is a great thinker on a hard subject, who finds the term that all men ever after instinctively employ as the best utterance of the reality. He uses the celebrated Athanasian phrases, "God of God," "Light of Light."<sup>1</sup> Thus he writes: "For though the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are three, they are three not in condition but in degree, not in substance but in form, not in power but in species,—being of one substance, one condition, and one power, because there is one God from whom those degrees, forms, and species, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are derived."<sup>2</sup> Again: "Pater et Filius duo et hoc non ex separatione substantiæ sed ex dispositione."<sup>3</sup> And again: "Tertius enim est spiritus a deo et filio sicut tertius a radice fructus ex frutice, et tertius a fonte rivus ex flumine et tertius a sole apex ex radio."<sup>4</sup> This is beyond all doubt Nicene Trinitarianism, and a careful statement of it. We do not mean that Tertullian's statements are without ground of exception,—that could hardly be expected where, with the extremest care, the most accomplished doctor is apt to slip. He has peculiar views concerning the ante-temporal condition of the Son, yet his pre-

<sup>1</sup> *Apol.* c. 21. In the same chapter we have the phrase, "Filius Dei, et Deum dictum ex unitate substantiæ."

<sup>2</sup> *Adv. Prax.* c. 2. (Bishop of Lincoln's translation.)

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* c. 19.

<sup>4</sup> "The three persons in the Trinity stand to each other in the relation of the root, the shrub, and the fruit; of the fountain, the river, and the cut from the river; of the sun, the ray, and the terminating point of the ray."—*Bishop of Lincoln.*

existence with the Father from eternity, as a distinct personal reality, is strongly asserted,—and to all intents he is Athanasian, a western Athanasian, for he seems to state more fully the true doctrine of the Holy Ghost, than the men of the Nicene age.

A third class of Tertullian's writings, we may somewhat loosely call the *Practical*, as dealing in some form with practical Christian life and duty.

(1.) The sufferings the early Christian endured are inadequately measured by fines, and imprisonments, and exiles, and cruel deaths. Paganism was inwrought into the whole framework of society, and everywhere he was coming into contact and conflict with it,—everywhere he ran the risk of offending the dominant faith, or his own conscience. The storm of persecution broke in its fury and passed away again. That was nothing to this perpetual steering among dangerous reefs. Who shall think what delicate consciences must have endured in heathen homes, and in the difficult positions in which the Christians often found themselves? We may well imagine that the persecuting edict was not seldom a relief, bringing with it the crisis strength and energy. There is a series of treatises from Tertullian's pen in which all this is presented in an interesting light,—they deal with the casuistry of Christian duty in the trying circumstances to which allusion has been made. Their titles are, *Of the Soldier's Crown*; *Of the Shows*; *Of Idolatry*; *Of Flight in Persecution*. The *De Corona*<sup>1</sup> had its origin in this way. A Christian soldier, on some high occasion, when bounty-money was distributed, instead of wearing, like his comrades, the laurel crown customary at such times,

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon has been commended for his great accuracy, even for his thorough acquaintance with the Christian Fathers. None of these had greater claims on his attention than Tertullian. No historian of the Decline and Fall of Ancient Rome, could with any comfort or conscientiousness write the story of the second and third centuries, without a tolerably familiar acquaintance with their most powerful Latin writer. One of the works of Tertullian to which Gibbon alludes is the *De Corona*, and yet he can hardly have read its first chapter—for he pronounces it the Churchman's composition, while itself unequivocally declares the opposite. Gibbon further states that it was impossible the Gnostics could have used our Gospels; he might have seen the opposite in almost every page of Tertullian's controversial writings,—a warning against plausible theorizing on history, where facts are at all to be had. The stupidest witness is more to be trusted to than the speculations of Gibbon or Niebuhr.

kept it in his hand. This was noticed by his officer, and led to his imprisonment. The incident appears to have occasioned some excitement. There was much speaking among believers, about the un-wisdom of an act which perilled the peace the Church at the time happily enjoyed. Tertullian rushed to the rescue of the inculpated brother, in whom he saw only a faithful confessor of his heavenly Lord. His great argument is, that the flower-crown is so connected with idolatry, as to complicate its wearer in homage to the gods. Historically, its origin is connected with idolatry, its ordinary use is connected with idolatry; and then there is no natural propriety in the thing itself to fall back upon, which would alter matters,—flowers upon the head Tertullian maintains is anti-natural, and the more liberal Clement of Alexandria agrees with him. Neither idols nor symbols are to us what they were to the ancient world; the former have lost their magic power, and the latter their articulate voice. The susceptibility of the Christian conscience which we may think feebleness, was perhaps the instinct of safety with those whose nature had been profoundly injured by idol superstition. Who knows what ruin may come of a single flash of association across the old criminal's mind? Who would look with scorn on the recovered drunkard, as he shrinks from even a transient glance on the sparkling wine-cup? Tertullian no doubt overdrives his point, and uses invalid reasoning, yet we will not speak of his outrageous fanaticism; his side of the question the Church was the better of hearing, now that she was moving onward to world-supremacy. The *De Spectaculis* rests on surer grounds. It is a strong wild eloquent protest against the Christians having anything to do with the public shows of the heathens. These shows were to all intents religious services—the gods, and the sacrifices, and the priests, had a great part in them all. He who went to the circus, entering sympathetically into its exhibitions, simply denied his faith. The theatre was not merely idolatrous, but utterly polluted with lust and cruelty. It is a stirring and noble summons which is addressed to the Church: “. . . In these have your circus games; look upon the courses of the world—the lapsing seasons, . . . defend the Churches, . . . glory in the palms of martyrdom. If the learning of the stage delight you, you have learning enough,



plenty of verses, sentences, songs, voices,—and not fables but verities, not shams but realities. Would you have wrestlings and fightings; of these there is no lack. Behold impurity thrown down by purity, perfidy slain by faithfulness, cruelty stricken by compassion, shamelessness cast into the shade by modesty,—these are our combats in which we too are crowned. Wouldst thou have blood? thou hast Christ's." The close of this famous tract seems at first sight conceived in a dark and unchristian spirit, in its awful rejoicing over the judgment of the wicked. Yet if we judge Tertullian fairly, there is no more reason to charge a spirit of revenge upon him than upon the British people because it rang bells and blazed bonfires when Sebastopol was destroyed. The *De Idololatria* is a further carrying out of the same stricter views. It gives one an intensely vivid idea of the difficulties through which Christianity in the early ages had to fight its way. It suggests a secret history no pen has written, for no eye but one was witness of it. Carpenters, smiths, plasterers, painters, gilders, shopkeepers, schoolmasters, had all their temporal interests more or less involved in the idol system. The making or decorating of idols was in some cases the sole occupation. One need not say what a barrier all this raised between the new faith and the very classes which were its principal aim. What perplexing questions inevitably came up on Christian converts, horror-stricken at their past, and fearful of any re-defilement? What did true devotion to his heavenly Master demand of the idol-caster or the idol-gilder? Could the schoolmaster continue teaching the catechism of the gods (a reality)? Could the shopkeeper still sell his frankincense and other provision for the temple? These are the questions the *De Idololatria* debates. As we have said, its author takes the stricter view. The workman must have no hand in idol work, let him apply his skill elsewhere,—“the arts have as many branches as man has wants;” or, at any rate, “no necessity is laid on him whose only necessity is not to sin.” The principle is carried resolutely out. There is unquestionably an ultraism of view in these three tracts, but we must not judge too rapidly or strongly. Let homage be done to their lofty moral tone, to their dauntless faith; let it be remembered that to Tertullian, as to the Apostle

John, heathendom lay in the wicked one—a fortress to be stormed and rased to the dust, not to be entered into terms with; let it be remembered that there were lax reasonings abroad among the followers of the Cross—even idol-makers were in the ministry of the Church,—that it was with concrete realities rather than abstractions Tertullian's mind was working in his impassioned sentences. In the heat and pressure of a great conflict, we must not wonder if equanimity is not altogether kept, and decorum is sometimes broken. Tertullian often reminds us in his casuistical writings, of the extremer Puritans of England, and the extremer Covenanters of Scotland. What Popery and Prelacy were to the latter, the religion of the gods was to the former. For the dislike of saints' days, copes, and surplices, you have the dislike of heathen holidays, and crowns, and all attire of idolatrous suggestion. There is the same vehement contempt for the feeble and luxurious.

The *De Fuga in Persecutione* is of the same type as the tracts we have just noticed. It is one of the most characteristic of Tertullian's productions. Among the other hard points of conscience the faithful had to decide, was their duty in the time of persecution—whether they should abide its onfall, or flee from it. It is a question not at all so easy of decision as we moderns imagine. The Saviour's injunction to flight from the city persecuting to another, Tertullian had the ingenuity to perceive was a special one, and not of universal application. He saw also that the apostles did not in every case act upon the principle of getting out of danger wherever it might threaten. Did not Paul go up to Jerusalem, though he knew that bonds and imprisonment awaited him? This is the example of authority—it suits the writer's daring and energetic soul. The general argument is, that persecutions come in the providence of God, and are a Divine discipline which the Church is not to flee from, but thankfully receive. If Tertullian had been reasoning against Marcion or Valentinus, he would not have failed to observe that the means of escape may be equally a providential intimation of duty to flee. His reasoning is incorrect, but perhaps his practical conclusion in the circumstances was the right one. Unless Christian men stood fast and true to one another—unless their pastors did not flinch, the Church must have

become utterly disorganized. The passive resistance of a great community was sure to conquer even the Cæsar, as in fact again and again it did. And if Tertullian's logic was at fault, his wakening calls were what the Church required. "Brother, this doctrine seems to you hard; but recollect what God said, 'Let him who can receive it, receive it;' that is, let him who cannot receive it, depart. He who fears to suffer, does not belong to him who suffered."<sup>1</sup> These were the notes for the martyr time. Yet Tertullian did not advocate anything like recklessness. When the severity of persecution came, let it be met by wisdom; let the larger meeting be discontinued for a season; let Christians assemble in twos and threes under shelter of the night. We are again reminded of our forefathers. The Scotch Covenanter would have heartily sympathized with the African Montanist on the subject of fugitive bishops. There is, however, one great and notable diversity; Tertullian bids defiance to proconsul and emperor, he will fight and conquer—by *enduring*. Never a thought of political resistance crosses his mind. It is indeed one of the marvels of early times, that with leaders such as he, no idea of political resistance ever seems to have visited the great Christian *imperium in imperio*. One wonders, if the same unpolitical character had been impressed on the Churches of the Reformation, what their history had been. It is a question worth entertaining.

(2.) Among the Practical writings of Tertullian, we have next those we designate the *Ascetic*. They comprise the two books addressed to His Wife—the Exhortation to Chastity, the Monogamy, the Chastity, the Dress of Women, the Veiling of Virgins, and the Fasts. The three first of these tracts deal very much with the same subject—second marriage; in all, the ascetic position is distinctly taken up—more mildly in the *Ad Uxorem*, decidedly, even vehemently in the *De Exhortatione* and the *Monogamia*, which plainly teach that marriage is a "species inferioris mali," and re-marriage a "species stupri." We have said that the *Ad Uxorem* is more mildly ascetic. This is especially true of its second part, which, at least in spirit, is a sort of retractation of the first;—Tertullian now, in case of his predecease, only counsels against re-marriage with

<sup>1</sup> *De Fuga*, c. 14.

a heathen,—he had known, it appears, instances of Christian women becoming the wives of Pagan husbands—an indicative circumstance both with respect to the one religion and the other. The second book of the *Ad Uxorem* abounds in this better spirit. It has much beautiful thought and feeling, and is a precious record of those old times both in their glory and their defects. How sad that he who could rise to the words in which Tertullian concludes, should have become a devotee of the asceticism now rising on the churches! “What a blessed thing is the marriage of two believers, of one hope, one discipline, servants of the same Master! . . . Together they offer up their prayers,—together they lie in the dust, and keep their fasts, teaching each other, exhorting each other, bearing up each other. They are together in God’s Church, together at God’s feast, together in straits, persecutions, consolations; freely the sick are visited and the indigent supported; there are alms without trouble; sacrifices without scruple; daily unimpeded diligence. Christ sees it and rejoices.”<sup>1</sup> The *De Pudicitia* is conceived in the very strongest asceticism; its aim is to prove that *fornicatio* and *moechia* belong to the class of mortal sins, and, committed after baptism,<sup>2</sup> that no human absolution (*pax ecclesiastica*) can be granted. What Tertullian meant by the distinction between mortal and venial sins, is not clear. Perhaps, notwithstanding his strong language, the idea in his mind is merely disciplinary. At the very least, there is a sad departure from the spirit of the New Testament—there is the Jewish externalism, which so naturally appears when processes of discipline are disconnected from evangelical impulse and action; a church engrossed with sorting itself, ere ever it thinks, is back under the shadow of Sinai. There is in the *De Pudicitia* withal no Sacrament of Penance.<sup>3</sup> Tertul-

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Ux.* lib. ii. c. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Tertullian allows another baptism—*lavacrum sanguinis*. “Unde et ex vulnere lateris domini aqua et sanguis *utriusque* lavacri paratura manavit.” It does not appear that martyrdom implied death. “Aliud martyrium necessarium est pro delictis novis.”—*De Pud.* c. 22.

<sup>3</sup> A very remarkable thing in the *Pudicitia*, and in Tertullian’s writings generally, is his low sacerdotalism and his high ritualism. Baptism is no less to him than to a Tractarian, the Bishop is no more than to a Presbyterian or Independent. The Church feeling may become far stronger by the subsidence of Clericism, as the national feeling is intensest in democracies—the Church feeling which the un-

lian is too earnest to make gains for the Church of conscience-terrors.

The *De Cultu Feminarum* is a counsel to Christian women against gay and costly attire. It is almost as much Puritan as ascetic. With a few changes, a stern Roundhead of the time of Cromwell might have written it. It presents a curious picture of society in the North African capital. Ladies dressed in the most extravagant style—in Tertullian's strong way of it they sometimes wore an "island" round their necks, they dyed their hair, they used paint freely on the face. Tertullian often misinterprets, but he never treats Nature lightly,—Nature is a very temple of God Most High—and all this in his eyes is simply sacrilege. Besides, what place has this way of soft luxuriousness in the great life-and-death conflict with the devil and his hosts? "The times, most of all *these* times, of the Christians are transacted not with gold but with iron." Not that untidiness and filth are approved,—the rich and the high-born, as beseems their station, may even go forth *Pompaticæ*, but on their guard. "Paint your eyes with modesty and your mouth with silence; in your ears insert the word of God, bind upon your necks the yoke of Christ. Be subject to your husbands, and ye shall be sufficiently adorned. Busy your hands in the wool, fix your feet at home,—and they shall please more than in gold: '*Taliter pigmentatæ Deum habebitis amatorem.*'" The *De Vestitu* strongly implies that Christianity is now making way with the higher classes—that among its disciples there are, if *not many* of the "mighty," very many of the well-to-do; otherwise what use in declaiming against gold and gay attire?<sup>1</sup> Under the Roman civilisation, as under our own, there must have been a great middle class, though its political action is so little conspicuous on the page of history. Among merchants, and traders, and the higher class of artisans, there is little doubt Christianity found its first home, as ever since with such it has found its kindest entertainment. It was the mob and the proconsul the primitive Christians feared. The *De Virginibus*

priestly Carthaginian knew only how to realize in the Church's sacraments, but which may have a far deeper and grander realization in a wide-spread missionary spirit.

<sup>1</sup> The same reasoning also applies to the *Pædagogus* of Clement.

*Velandis* is but the complement of the *De Vestitu*. This is the tract about which Isaac Taylor made such a damaging mistake, as if the question it treated were the veiling of "Nuns." Tertullian does not write of nuns, but of the proprieties of virgins, that is, of unmarried women,—and insists, of course, on their being veiled in the congregation. The African Church, it appears, had no ordinance upon the subject, and he argues like any old-fashioned Presbyterian, on the necessity of uniformity. Though not in its technical application, we have in the *De Velandis* the famous phrase "*Sponsæ Christi*;"—symptomatic and prophetic.

The *De Jeuniis* is a vindication of the extreme views and practices of the Montanist sect on the subject of fasting. We learn from it that the position held by at least many in the Church on this subject, was still far from the ultraism which afterwards prevailed.

The pervasive asceticism of all these tracts is what we may call the marriage asceticism. It is rooted deep in the soul of their great author—if we might so speak, it is his monomania. What does it mean? How was such a man so utterly diseased,—one who had a reverence for Nature, the poet or the man of science might envy; one to whom Gnosticism was a black and deadly error; one who owned a profound allegiance to the Scriptures and to Christ; one who had cordially responded to many of the highest and finest impulses of the New Faith? No careful reader of Tertullian can well doubt the solution. The first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans is the solution. Read that chapter in the lurid radiance Tertullian casts upon it, and you will have some adequate conception of the frightful sensuality of the last days of Roman heathendom,—a sensuality which utterly beclouded all nobler views of the relation between man and woman—from which reawakened moral life fled in a burst of horror—*any sort of association with which* made the new-born sensibilities painfully uneasy. Has evangelical Protestantism got above it? When a man of any singular devoutness becomes a husband, is there no feeling that he has gone down—down nearer to the earth?

(3.) Among Tertullian's practical writings we, last of all, place those on Baptism, Repentance, Prayer, Patience, and also

the Exhortation to the Martyrs. The *De Baptismo* we should have expected to find of the theological or dogmatic cast,—it is only so, however, to a very small extent. It is, indeed, not easy to determine precisely what is its writer's doctrine of baptism. It seems to be this,—the recipient of Baptism must have faith; wherever there is faith, baptism is the Divine medium through which forgiveness of sins is communicated. Faith is necessary to baptism, but baptism under the Christian dispensation is necessary to faith.<sup>1</sup> In baptism, faith is clothed with the Divine realities which, so to speak, are its objective counterparts. The well-known passage in this tract on infant baptism, cannot be very strongly urged on either side; it certainly implies that children were in Tertullian's time baptized, and it seems more than probable that one who was ever ready to urge tradition, would, in his counsel of delay, have referred to the time when pædobaptism was unpractised, if there had been any remembrance or relic of it. There is not a little in the *De Baptismo* superstitious and fanciful. The *De Pœnitentia* treats of repentance in various aspects. It is inspired by a deep moral earnestness. It sets forth, on the one hand, the blessedness of the grace, and on the other, the guilt of lapsing back from it. We learn from Tertullian that in his day for more grievous sin there was only one Church restoration, and in connexion with that, most humiliating public confession; but there is nothing of *priestly* or *auricular* confession, nor of a sacrament of penance. The *De Oratione* is a sort of commentary on the Lord's Prayer, followed up by practical suggestions. It has many fine and impressive thoughts. The proverbial saying that prayer moves the hand that moves the universe, we meet with in Tertullian in another form,—“Prayer alone conquers God.” There are few nobler passages than this. “We are the true worshippers and the true priests, who, praying in the spirit, offer the sacrifice to God of the befitting and acceptable prayer. This, devoted with all the heart, from the pasture-grounds of faith, under the charge of truth, unblemished, pure, crowned by love,—*this*, with the pomp of good works, amid psalms and hymns, we ought to lead up to the altar of God, *omnia nobis*

<sup>1</sup> “Lavacrum obsignatio est fidei.”—*De Pœn.* c. 6. “Obsignatio Baptismi, vestimentum fidei.”—*De Bapt.* c. 13.

*a Deo impetraturam.*"<sup>1</sup> The *De Patientia* enforces and illustrates the duty of submissiveness of spirit. It was a fitting theme for those suffering days. If we remember when it was written, we shall not read it without emotion and admiration. Instead of the soured and rebellious temper which a couple of centuries of unjust treatment might well have explained, and in some measure excused, he describes the glories of patience as with the pen of a passionate lover. We quote a characteristic passage, exhibiting the writer's gift of language and declamatory power—(we cannot translate). "So God is a trustee of our patience sufficiently trustworthy. If you deposit a wrong in his hand, He is an avenger; if a loss, He is a restorer; if an ailment, He is a physician; if death, He is a raiser up. What license has patience which has God for her debtor! Nor undeservedly. For she looks to all his will, she intervenes in aid of all his commands. *Fidem munit, pacem gubernat, dilectionem adjuvat, humilitatem instruit, poenitentiam expectat, exomologesin assignat, carnem regit, spiritum servat, linguam frenat, manum continet, tentationes inculcat, scandala pellit, martyria consummat, pauperem consolatur, divitem temperat, infirmum non extendit, valentem non consumit, fidelem delectat, gentilem invitat, servum domino—dominum deo commendat, feminam exornat, virum approbat; amatur in puero, laudatur in juvene, suspicitur in sene; in omni sexu, in omni ætate, formosa est.*" *Ad Martyres* is the suggestive title of a brief address to Christian sufferers, awaiting in prison the judgment of the persecutor; it is a sort of battle oration, at once affecting and awakening—full of the author's strong and peculiar eloquence.—This is our last group of Tertullian's writings, not the least remarkable—we must add, not the least sad. The basis is no doubt redemption, yet as Isaac Taylor vigorously puts it—If Christ is in the ship, He is asleep in the hinder part. The great first principles of the gospel are in the background—displaced and overshadowed by a legal discipline.

Imperfect as is the preceding survey of Tertullian's writings, it may in some measure enable our readers to enter with us on an estimate of their author, and of his place in Christian history.

<sup>1</sup> *De Oratione*, c. 23.



In every page Tertullian has left behind him, we have the impress of a striking individuality ; everywhere some prominent features are distinctly marked. Who is not struck with his extraordinary energy ? A listless word never comes from his pen. Even his feeblest arguments are strongly done. Whether he is smiting a heresy, or rallying the Church, or apostrophizing a grace, or urging a duty, or abusing an opponent, you have a strong man working with all his might. In his rugged force Tertullian has reminded us of Thomas Carlyle ; the impetuous African resembling the impetuous Scotchman, even in his love for expressive compounds<sup>1</sup> which tell out the meaning at once ; the one offending against Augustan, as the other against Addisonian style. Tertullian's affluence is not less notable than his energy. Affluence of thought—if ideas had come less easily he would have been spared from many false ones ; affluence of illustration, historical, analogical, imaginative ; affluence of language—he wields his Latin at his pleasure, we believe it will be acknowledged, as no man, heathen or Christian, of the time could do. We think he is rarely chargeable with verbiage, with mere vapid accumulation of verbs and adjectives : take that wonderful passage we have quoted from the tract on Patience, and if it be declamatory, it is not turgid ; it is not a mere swell of air, collapsing under the first puncture of scrutinizing thought. High culture is implied in what we have said already, and to speak of it is perhaps to repeat ourselves. Yet it is well to give it a special notice, if only as a suggestive fact ; *it is a great fact* this alliance of the religion (as Celsus described it) of the wool-combers, tanners, and shoemakers, with the highest culture of the age, in Tertullian, Minucius Felix, and the Alexandrians. Tertullian had evidently been in the literary schools of a famous literary capital ; you see it at once in the march of his periods. He had read widely both in the literature of Greece and Rome ; though Latin was his birth-tongue, he was master of, and published works, in Greek. There is withal no putting on of the literary man. His culture is rather of him a thing he cannot help, than as a Christian writer carefully assumed.

<sup>1</sup> Take a few specimens :—*Multivōrantia*, *multinubentia*, *mundi-tenens*, *mundi-potens*, *suavi-ludius*, *Reciproci-cornis*, *præ-maledicere*, *con-gaudere*, *ultimare*, *car-naliter*, *massaliter*, &c.,—the Lexicon marks all these as "Tertullian words."

Anything like dressing up of sentences, his asceticism perhaps would have counted wrong. If to his Demosthenic fire and energy, he had added Demosthenic elaboration, in a later time the pulpit of Carthage might have far outshone that of Antioch. You have in Tertullian argumentative genius, flashes of wit and sarcasm, no inconsiderable speculative power—as amply evidenced in his replies to Marcion and Hermogenes, and in the *De Anima* which, notwithstanding its blots and follies, as a contribution to ontology and psychology will compare with the works of most of the ancient philosophers. Add to all this, an intense religious earnestness, deeply tinged with ascetic gloom; strong and unwavering conviction that Christianity is of God, and heathenism of the devil; a soul teeming with new life—which in its very strength and impetuosity raised up a dust of confusing emotion, susceptible of and receiving impulse from the whole expanse of the Christian revelation still imperfectly, and, as we might say, unorganically apprehended,—and you have some conception of this remarkable man. As you study and re-study him, the more you wonder at his strange, nay, contradictory combinations. Roman vigour and conservatism, blazing African fervour, Carthaginian culture, Puritan idealism and Mediæval ritualism, depth and shallowness, the strength of a giant and the feebleness of a child, gospel noon-day and legal shadows,—the type of his age which the new leaven has wrought into wild fermentation. A great deal has been said of Tertullian's extravagance, and so far truly. He must have had some natural tendency to that, and it grew. Yet what we call his extravagance, was to a large extent the extravagance of his time, and we must measure his wanderings, not by the landmarks of the nineteenth, but of the third century. Nor will the mightier products of nature, whether in mind or matter, commonly stand the square and line. It is the unequivocal proof of a broad substratum of common sense, on which some eccentricities might safely disport themselves, that Tertullian, notwithstanding all his temptations, inward and outward, under extremely powerful deflecting influences, swerved less from the great highways of orthodoxy than the calm-tempered Alexandrians. A very disparaging comparison has indeed been instituted by the author of *Ancient Christianity*, between the

African and the contemporary Alexandrian teacher. "After plunging," says Mr. Taylor, "in Tertullian's turbid stream, it is a refreshment to walk at ease, and breathe a wholesome atmosphere in the pleasant garden of Clement of Alexandria. Some dozen of the Fathers might be sifted before we should get together as much common sense as may be found within the compass of a few pages in this writer." It is marvellous how the mists of controversy becloud the brightest vision. Read, for example, the tenth chapter of Clement's *Pædagogus*, and judge if that comparative exaltation of him has any grounds. The Alexandrian urges the very views of the *De Corona*, of the *De Virginibus*, of the *De Vestitu*; and while allowing marriage somewhat more freely than Tertullian does, his remarks are steeped in a spirit of asceticism more conscience-depraving than the *De Monogamia*. Tertullian vehemently opposes a second marriage, Clement allows it as a thing better than a worse; it is a lapse his Gnostic never makes. Mr. Taylor strikingly and truly shows how Gnosticism, conquered by the Church, yet left strong impregnations of its influence. Read the last book of the *Stromata* of Clement, and you have the proof. Already there you have the great outlines of the haughty contemplatist ascetic (the angelic type), lifted up above the earth,—eating, drinking, marrying, but only in proud condescension to the necessities of his present state, as a lord sometimes bends to a beggar,—impassible to joy, or sorrow, or suchlike natural infirmities, "as Adamant in the fire,"—"when his children are all born, knowing his wife as if she had never been more to him than a sister." The Latin writer has no transcendentalism, he is plain and downright; though apparently more extreme, there is far less of the poison in him than in the Greek. It is utterly unfair to contrast Tertullian's views of Scripture with those of Clement, to the disadvantage of the former. To Tertullian the holy Book was without abatement *vox Dei*; tradition was not a co-ordinate vehicle of inspiration,—even the Paraclete no more than supplemented on points of discipline, and was accepted only as standing the test of entire conformity with the grand articles. Clement, while amply recognising the inspired authority of the Bible, seems to have held the perilous and "extravagant" doctrine of a secret oral tradition in the churches, handed down from the apostolic

era. These were the two foremost Christian writers of their day, and it is natural to compare them. With singular resemblances, they present singular contrasts; the one bidding philosophy off from the enclosures of the Church of God: "Quid Athenis et Hierosolymis? quid academix et ecclesix?"<sup>1</sup> the other counting Plato an Athenian Moses, given "to prepare and purify the Gentile mind" for the reception of the gospel; the one proclaiming forth with a prophet's tongue of fire a God of justice and a wrath to come, the other apologetic and rather indistinct when he has any occasion to present the severer aspects of the Divine character; the one a thorough realist, the other tending to evaporate all into a shadowy etherealism; Christianity to the one the only salvation from a tremendous doom, to the other a Divine philosophy; the Christian life to the one a battle with sin and Satan, to the other rather a flight above all battle-din. Each is one-sided. But we have no doubt which gave the world what most it needed, and did it greatest good. Of course it is doing both injustice, but in comparing them we have thought of the rude crusader and the senile Byzantine; it may be nearer the truth than many will allow who love the Alexandrian liberalism and mysticism, that what in real depth of soul and power Godfrey was to Alexius, Tertullian was to Clement.

What place, then, shall we assign to Tertullian in the Church's history? and what did he contribute to its course? Neander gives his answer in the title of his well-known monograph. As Athanasius of the Arian, and Augustine of the Pelagian, so Tertullian was the hero of the Gnostic controversy. No less than seven works of special or general controversy with Gnosticism have come down to us, some of them long and laboured. Vigorous, lively, acute, well fitted for general circulation, which no doubt they obtained, or their numbers or their size would have been less, who shall say what good work was done by them in bearing back that frightful invasion of Platonic and oriental theosophy, which threatened to turn the gospel of salvation into a speculative dream, and the life of the gospel into a licentious intellectualism, or a monstrous conflict with nature? Especially was Tertullian the "Anti-Gnosticus" of the Latin Church, and but for his schism his honours would

<sup>1</sup> *De Præscrip.* c. 7.

have been assigned to him from the first, and *St. Tertullian* would have been one of the most venerated of the Papal elect. But let us consider him not merely as a controvertist keeping off disastrous error, but as exercising a positive influence within the Church ; let us consider him in relation to some of the peculiar tendencies of the Christianity of his age.

When the appearance of heresy, and a spirit of speculation, led the early Church to feel its need of (as we say) a scientific statement of its essential beliefs, it first and mainly concerned itself with what is called the doctrine of God. The manner of the Divine subsistence, the relation of God to the universe, the Incarnation, such were the subjects to which these young Christians, in the Divine providence, were obliged to address themselves, and weak and ridiculous as they seem to us on many points, they wrought out solutions on which we still are resting. To these solutions, to the Athanasian theology generally, Tertullian, the first powerful theological mind of the Western Churches, as we have seen already, rendered important aid. His work is in the Nicene and Athanasian symbols. But there is a more interesting, and, it may be, even more important side of Tertullian's influence on the development of Christian doctrine. The God of his books is more the God of the Bible than the God of the rationalizing eastern teachers,—not a speculative infinite, but the living, personal, all-ordaining, ever-working, sin-hating One. His views of man fallen, lying under the Divine wrath, made, not born a Christian, subdued by an irresistible grace, equally, contrast with the anthropology of a Clement and a Chrysostom.<sup>1</sup> A very little working out, and you have Augustinianism ; and if we remember that Tertullian was the most famous African writer of his day, that he acted, as he could not but act, powerfully on the Christianity of his country, we may trace back to an anterior source that sublime system of doctrine which we connect with the name of the Bishop of Hippo. Who knows how much it might be owing to the tracts of the earnest Montanist, or to the

<sup>1</sup> "Sicut Deus Homini vitæ statum induxit, ita homo sibi mortis statum attraxit."—*Adv. Mar.* lib. ii. c. 8. "Homo perierat, hominem restitui oportuerat."—*De Carne*, c. 14. "Hæc erit vis divinæ gratiæ, potentior utique natura."—*De Anima*, c. 21 ; *Adv. Mar.* lib. i. c. 26, 27. See also *De Præscrip.* c. 3.

spirit they diffused, that Augustine's experience took precisely the course and found the issue which it did, and a mighty tide of life sprung up within the Church, and broader or narrower, deeper or shallower, flowed down through the dark ages, till, as though its waters had suddenly gathered from a thousand hidden channels, it swelled forth at the Reformation in irresistible force and volume? You can no more dissociate Tertullian and Augustine than you can Victor and Leo, or Antony and Simeon Stylites, or Priestley and Theodore Parker. The doctrinal position of good works in Tertullian's time had not been discussed. His views were no doubt here broken and confused; if they had been articulately stated, they would have been likely even erroneous. On this subject, as on the Sacraments<sup>1</sup> and the Intermediate State, he sowed the seeds of Tridentine Romanism.

The ecclesiastical view of the Church was fast gaining ground towards the end of the second century; that was a natural result of the ritualism that early prevailed, and of the overvalue of visible unity to which that ritualism led. Tertullian has left clearly marked traces of himself both in strengthening and counteracting this ecclesiastical tendency. His views of baptism; his respect for tradition, in which you have the conservative Roman lawyer; his constant argumentative reference to the great body of Church tradition (so far, perfectly valid) against his Gnostic opponents, in the existing circumstances, always went to the side of High Churchism. Cyprian was the ideal Churchman of his day, the foreshadow of Hildebrand. He used, we are assured, to call Tertullian his master, and daily commune with his pages; there is no question what side of the Montanist layman the illustrious Bishop of Carthage studied, received, imprinted on his age. But if in Tertullian we find strong High Church elements, we find also in bold relief antagonist elements, and these perhaps preponderating. The universal priesthood of

<sup>1</sup> Tertullian's views upon the sacraments withal are immensely removed from those of the Church of Rome. As we have already seen, he does not connect them with the priesthood, as Rome does. In regard to the sacrament of the Supper, the very superstitions he mentions are inconsistent with transubstantiation; which, besides, would have appeared to him only a peculiar form of Docetism, and is opposed to the entire scope of his anti-Gnostic reasonings, even when he is speaking as the conscious voice of orthodoxy. *Adv. Mar.* lib. iv. c. 40; lib. iii. c. 8.

believers is one of his favourite notions ; in the tract on baptism, admitted to have been written before his schism, he maintains the essential right<sup>1</sup> of every Christian to baptize, but thinks that, for the sake of the Church's dignity, the rite should be ordinarily administered by bishops or presbyters. Again and again the same, or similar thoughts occur.<sup>2</sup> Tertullian is not an anarchist, but neither is he a sacerdotalist, and this side of him was not left unused. The African Church had a Donatus as well as a Cyprian. Donatus and his party seem not, more than Cyprian and the Church, to have freed themselves from ritualism, but they set boldly up a Church of purity in contrast with a Church of priests ; and generally the Donatist discussions evolved important views, which, as bread cast upon the waters, returned after many days. The distinction between the visible and invisible Church was reached. Tichonius, the Donatist grammarian, spoke of the "Corpus domini bipartitum ;" and the Churchman, Augustine, in his comment on the rules of Tichonius, used nearly equivalent language. The Montanists and Donatists, the better sects of the middle ages, Wycliffe and Huss, the Reformers ; is this not a vital succession, a succession growing ever stronger and purer as it descends?<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Etiam laicis jus est, quod enim ex æquo accipitur, ex æquo dari potest."—*De Baptis.* c. 17.

<sup>2</sup> "Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus."—*De Exhort.* c. 7 ; *De Monogam.* c. 7. "Non ecclesia numerus episcoporum."—*De Pud.* c. 21.

<sup>3</sup> See Neander. The Donatist controversy is one of great interest and importance. Neander's chapter on it is, on the whole, most admirable. Yet have the Donatists received historical justice ? It seems to us very far from clear that the Church party are as free from blame at the commencement of the conflict as the Berlin historian holds : we confess to a sympathy with the bolder and more downright views of the opponents of Mensurius—views thoroughly imbued by Tertullian's spirit. The remarks of Augustine in his *De Doctrina*, on the rules of Tichonius, leave little doubt that the theological grammarian, though a "*Donatista Hæreticus*," was a thoughtful and sensible man,—not such a man as would sympathize with a sect utterly fanatical. It is to be remembered how apt an ultra minority is to give its aspect to the whole body, and to be spoken of by opponents as if it represented the whole. Besides the points mentioned in the text—in the discussions of the Donatist theologians (Cresconius, Petilianus, Gaudentius, and others, apparently not unmeet antagonists of the Doctor of Hippo), there were other important and fruitful views developed. Thus, under the true inspiration of Tertullian's puritanism, the significant question was asked,—"*Quid est imperatori cum ecclesia ?*" Tertullian's toleration views were carried out—carried out by some to the

Side by side with ecclesiasticism went on the great ascetic movement. Antony and Hilarion had not yet appeared, but they were not distant, and Tertullian sped them on their journey. As we have seen, his ascetic writings are numerous, and his views for the time extreme; in fact he abuses the Church for its looseness, contemptuously denounces it for its "multivorantia" and its "multinubentia."<sup>1</sup> But of what kind was Tertullian's asceticism? For there are various asceticisms, differing essentially from one another, and likely in the natural course of things to produce vastly different results. There is the Gnostic, the Symbolic, and the Puritanic. The *Gnostic* asceticism, whether in its Brahminical or Buddhist development, is based on a demoralizing idea of evil as inherent in and arising out of matter; not sin, but necessity. With this Tertullian was very little tainted. Matter had no unholiness in his thoughts, the very opposite; his realism even led him towards materialistic conceptions of the soul. The *Symbolic* asceticism seems more or less natural to man. They who mourn for the departed have a symbol of their grief in a peculiar attire; the same instinct seeks a symbol for the sorrow of repentance, or any other grief of religious experience. In itself, and in its measure, this is neither unscriptural nor unevangelical. But sin in himself, sin in the Church, sin like a death-flood rolling over the earth,—this pressing on a soul somewhat gloomy, that had never got the joyous elasticity of a clear gospel faith, in which, so to speak, conscience overbore reason and heart, would tend to make the penitential frame Tertullian's prevailing one,—and penitence would have its symbols in fasts and vigils and the like. We do not like to hear that one in an arduous campaign of weary marches and bloody conflicts, is living luxuriously in the costly tent. There is something of the same feeling in the gallant soldier of the Cross as he sternly exclaims, *Tempora Christianorum semper, et nunc vel maxime, non auro sed ferro transiguntur.*<sup>2</sup> It may be objected that this is no solution of Tertullian's marriage views, but we think it is so partly; and we have already

extent of holding that not even the Pagan sacrifices should be interfered with by the civil power, that for offences against religion there should be only "vindicta spiritalis."

<sup>1</sup> *De Jejuniis*. c. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *De Cultu Fem.* c. 13.



noticed whence proceeded his disorder here. He was a sort of nuptial teetotaler ; his teetotalism having much the same natural history as that of our Temperance Societies. We have again the *Puritanic* asceticism. When spiritual realities in their naked grandeur press upon man's spirit, when he has gotten, as it were, face to face with God and truth, there is some instinctive jealousy of any intercepting veil, such as a luxurious imagination weaves, and hence the dislike of gorgeous churches and gorgeous church adornment ; some tendency also to despise all glitter and show, as if beneath the notice of those who converse with the real and the everlasting. Was there not something of this too in Tertullian's case ? In a word, Tertullian was an ascetic, and helped on the disastrous ascetic movement which committed Christendom to a false idea of the Christian life ; but his asceticism was of the nobler kind, based upon conscience, teeming with moral life, having in it a grand if exaggerated spiritualism ; and it did good work of its kind, in breaking in the young nations of the West, and preparing them for *their* coming of Christ. It is well to mourn that Tertullian was not a Paul. But is it not well to be thankful that Tertullian was not a Clement, that Augustine was not a Theodore or a Chrysostom ?

Again, there are many indications in Tertullian's writings that in the Church of his day there was much religious indifference and moral laxity ; and it was still worse in the generation following. These are terrible pictures of African Christianity which Cyprian, and at a later period Salvian draw. Shall we say of Tertullian that he stemmed the tide of evil, or rolled it on ? It cannot be denied that his moral tone is high, he is free from the looseness or obliquity which darken the illustrious names of a succeeding era. A new man, born again of a "*Superna Virtus*," in love with the moral glories of Christ and the Christian book, hating sin from the bottom of his heart, he calls men to repentance and purity ; he does not give the perfect freedom of the perfect truth, but with a great voice he rouses and rallies a fading life. The gospel is very dimly in the law. The law is in the gospel, satisfied and glorified by it. But just as in a deficiency of outward revelation, the law with its Sinai terrors overshadows the gospel, so in certain conditions of the Church,

imperfection of subjective vision narrows the objective revelation back again to the days of Sinai ; the lips of the elect are baptized in the fires of Moses, and in a law-work, from which withal they are never able to lead out into the gospel's joyous freedom, they give sinew and life-blood to the conscience. Tertullian is an illustration. He was the voice of one crying in the desert, "Repent ye," rather than of one crying from the cross's shelter and love,—*"Come ye."* His semi-legalism wrought both good and evil; the good the Reformation reaped; shall we say that Rome systematized and canonized the evil? But while we speak thus, we must not forget that Christ has a great place in Tertullian's religion. The historical Saviour, the person of the God-Man was dear above all to him; did he not help to limn out that glorious conception of the glorious One, which, during the dark ages was never lost, and which has done so much to form the conscience of the modern world? Though his views of the primary truths of the gospel were broken and imperfect, he rested finally on the atoning sacrifice of Christ. Christ is *"Patris deprecator et oblator animæ suæ pro populi salute:"*<sup>1</sup> the death of Christ is *"summum fundamentum evangelii et salutis nostræ;"*<sup>2</sup> Christ came *"ut ipse a delicto purus et omnia sanctus pro peccatoribus obiret."*<sup>3</sup>

Under new and vast impulses, strong, original, self-reliant, undisciplined in theological schools, with no great theological predecessors to guide him, Tertullian was the very man to give forth at once imperfect and powerful views of truth. Minds in his state are always sowers, and he emphatically was so. He sowed many tares,—it cannot be denied; but we would rather remember that he bore high the standard of God's truth in a great battle-day,—that he rooted deep in his native church some of the sublimest and most precious truths of revelation to bear fruit in the future for the healing of the world.<sup>4</sup>

As there is a sectarianism of churches, so is there a sectarian-

<sup>1</sup> *Adv. Mar.* ii. c. 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* iii. c. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *De Pud.* c. 22.

<sup>4</sup> We had hoped to be able, so far at least, to discuss the writings of Tertullian in their bearings on some of the religious controversies of our time. Thus, the absence of the properly and distinctively miraculous from the pages of the miracle-loving African, is a great fact against the mythical hypothesis; the crudities and blunders of the cultured rhetorician throw a striking light on the inspiration of the unlearned writers of the New Testament; the entire absence of all reference to the

ism of ages ; both are in conflict with a doctrine of all Christian creeds,—render at least imperfect the communion of the saints. Has not Protestantism been more or less guilty of both, and of the latter still more than the former ? The election of God from the second century down to the sixteenth, have we not to all intents surrendered to the arrogant claims of Rome ? have we not foolishly given over to the apostate Church the glory of names and lives and deeds, to which she has no right ? thus disuniting ourselves from aspects and examples of the Christian life, which might have filled up our imperfections and added to our impulse. The true saints of every age have something to bestow on us,—is it not implied in the mysterious completeness of the mystical Body ? Let us remember that the doctrine of progress (it may be to keep us in our aspirings duly humble) must be supplemented by the doctrine of gifts. You leave childhood, boyhood, youth behind you ; you advance to the strength and maturity of manhood. That is progress. But childhood, boyhood, youth, have gifts peculiar to themselves, without the action and influence of which manhood is stiff, pedantic, harsh, ungenial,—miserably incomplete. So, too, the young ages have gifts which the older ages need. Homer sings before history has indited her first page, and his song has a place in the culture of all centuries. No one can doubt but that the eighteenth century was a prodigious advance on the sixteenth ; yet compare the architectural genius of the two. The theory of gifts is as real as that of progress. Shall we say that this applies peculiarly to the Church, the absolute creature and dependant of supernatural grace ? Had those first Christian centuries, with all their imperfections, no gifts of their own ? Would their heroic self-sacrifice, their sublime faith, their deep devoutness, their young and exuberant if wild and wayward life, afford us nothing which we need ?

If we would do justice to the Church of Tertullian, Irenæus,

so-called Apocryphal Gospels in the voluminous writings of the most universal controvertist of his day, at once stamps their right value on these compositions. Rome may gain some support from Tertullian, but the very fundamentals of the Romish system are overthrown by his anti-Docetism, his anti-sacerdotalism, his entire unacquaintance with any Papal infallibility, while perhaps acknowledging or hinting at some supremacy of providential position. These are some of the points of which our space forbids the illustration and discussion.

and Origen, and to ourselves in relation to it, there are three things we must be on our guard against. (1.) We must beware of too sharp a contrast with the apostolic writings. Notwithstanding the repressive and guiding influence of a living inspiration and authority, we notice in the pages of the New Testament a marked distinction between the apostles and the apostolic age. The apostles are now away, and with them all supremely authoritative restraint. And what have we? The heathen mind from all quarters rushing in to the revelation of heavenly truths the Holy Books contain,—endeavouring to realize, to apprehend, to organize into system. As in the first attempts at reading God's book of nature, so in these first attempts at reading this other book of God, you have, with very much that is wonderfully grand and impressive, confusion and error, if you will, weakness and folly. *Church history has an entirely different aspect as you look at it from two different points of view.* As you look at it from the brightness of apostolic teaching, and the comparative purity of its earliest days, it appears for many centuries as a great apostasy. And this is a reality. As you take your stand again amid the darkness of the darkest time of the old Pagan world, you see light streaks break in upon a dreary night, and struggle with its horrible gloom,—a vast mass of disease and corruption receive a healing influence, and, under its power, undergo a great, if slow and imperfect transformation. The former is the common view of the devout believer,—the latter of the eclectic philosopher. They are not altogether incompatible. The Saviour combines them. We have the one in the parable of the tares, and the other in the parable of the leaven. (2.) Another thing we must beware of,—it is perhaps but a special aspect of the preceding remark,—is, too easily taking offence at what seems to the modern mind ridiculous and childish. It is hard to say what weakness may not consist with sublimity of character and greatness of intellect. Take Plato. The philosophers still study him, honour him, are instructed and impressed by him. Yet what extravagant nonsense, as we think, you have in the illustrious Athenian's pages! Cato deals in follies at which the youngest boy in our academies laughs. Is he not withal in the senate and the cabinet a match for our most consummate politicians and subtlest

diplomatists? Cicero will still retain his place as a great and thoughtful and cultivated mind, notwithstanding the 42d chapter of the first book of his *De Officiis*. There is an intellectual as well as a religious Pharisaism, and the one is as blind and narrow and fanatical as the other. (3.) We must beware of looking at things too much under the influence of Romish associations. There is much, for example, in Tertullian that is Romeward. You have in his writings the bud of the doctrine of purgatory, in so far as he admits some sort of purgation in an intermediate state. Yet is his purgatory *toto cælo* different from the Tridentine, as it wants the priest and the mass. It is at once unjust to the writer and dangerous to the interests of truth, to confound such a distinction. And further, it may be laid down as a safe rule for our guidance, that while the great and ruling tendencies of an age should be studied in the light of the future that springs from it, the individual must be judged of on his own merits, and with reference rather to his past and present than any future he may have a part in producing. At least we must keep carefully separate the Individual Man and his Historical Position. A profound historical connexion might perhaps be established between Spenser and Francke, and Semler and Bahrdt. Shall we confound withal the Pietists and the Rationalists, and refuse honour and love to two bright Christian names?

Let us only add, that the study of the early centuries—especially of that strange, confused, fermenting period, which the present essay brings before us, and with which our modern Protestant mind finds it so difficult to put itself in contact—is absolutely necessary to the understanding of modern history in some of its most important phases. This period was a great seed-time, whose fruits are not even yet all gathered in.

**THE HALDANES:**  
**A CHAPTER IN SCOTTISH CHURCH HISTORY.**

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## THE HALDANES:

### A CHAPTER IN SCOTTISH CHURCH HISTORY.

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WE think it was Hugh Miller who observed, that till the appearance of the Lives of Robert and James Haldane, we of the present generation were not sensible of the *greatness* of this noble pair of brothers. For example, did we ourselves, listening to prejudices which survived on the wings of rumour, not look coldly at them for twenty years? Do many not look coldly at them still? Good men (looking through our denominational spectacles) we could see them to be, but still men who exaggerated the evils of their time—rose in ungenerous rebellion against the Church of Scotland—overleaped her fences—fostered dissent—wandered coruscating as lay-preachers—sent forth men slenderly equipped, by whom and their successors defective or erroneous views were soon propounded in many places—plunged into controversies—dealt hard blows at old friends. It was at a fortunate time for us that their Memoir appeared, and that a friend advised us to read it, and draw our conclusions for ourselves. We have done so, and risen from the perusal, with the conviction that these men were signal blessings to Scotland and the world, and that no book has recently appeared so fitted to exercise a powerful influence on the ministry and the Christian laity of the churches, to give a powerful impulse to Christian union, and guide earnest men to the solution of some of our evils—especially the condition of the lapsed masses. Pleasing will it be to this writer, if his sketch leads any one who



has not yet done so to lay prejudice aside, and examine impartially the contents of this volume—a volume, it must be said, destitute enough of literary merit, but abounding in facts marvellous as any fiction.

What manner of men these were, whose ancestors inherited lands in Gleneagles, *not quite* so far back as their biographer would have us understand ; who grew up, however, mingling in fashionable circles, visiting Dukes of Montrose, Earls at Taymouth—who had big gifts too, and such patronage at command, as could have opened up for each the avenue to greatness ; and yet who sacrificed the stately ways of aristocratic life—fair prospect of stars, coronets, ribbons—who encountered ridicule, and devoted their means, talents, influence, lives, to the furtherance of the Christian cause, and commanded a hearing for the truth in many high quarters, and made pilgrimages over Scotland, and on the Continent, in connexion with which hundreds of precious souls were converted ; who wrote books, and sent forth preachers, as many as two or three hundred, at their own expense ; and, along with others—Erskine, Moncreiff, Thomson, M'Crie, Chalmers—gave such a mighty impulse to Scotland and its Church, that the culminating point in their history may be called the dawn of the third Reformation : this is the subject which will occupy us. Could one deftly present as much as possible in perspective ?—How these two laboured, and manfully strove to achieve the sum of their spiritual endeavour—what field of operations lay open to them—what relation they held to the great Christian movements in Scotland during their time—wherein they succeeded—wherein they failed,—are points to be looked at as we pass. From all which great lessons may be gathered—these men yet speak to us ; they are “ majestic onlookers ” in the cloud of witnesses—we should get good from them, though dead, as we extract odours from withered flowers.

Robert was born in 1764, in London. In 1768, his father, James Haldane, commander of an East Indiaman, died at Dundee, and his mother immediately removed thither to be near her friends. James Alexander, the younger brother, was born at Dundee a fortnight after his father's death. They had a sister, too, two years older than James. To the training of the three, the tender, God-fearing mother devoted herself, and the

seeds sown in their minds by her gentle hand, and watered by her prayers, never perished. But in 1774 she died ; and "such a deathbed," said Dr. Willison, an avowed unbeliever, "was enough to make one in love with death." Their grandmother, Lady Lundie, now took charge of them. James, though full of spirit, was extremely fond of Helen, already drooping under disease ; and the Strathearn rustics (Lady Lundie took a house there) long remembered how, when riding about the heaths, he would dismount to gather wildflowers for her. One loves the feature in a boy of such impulsive, athletic ways—gentleness and strength in finely balanced combination—one hopes, if he is some day to preach, he will do it all the better for this. But in 1776, Helen too leaves them ; Lady Lundie a year after : one tie after another is snapping—one "sunny islet after another is disappearing"—so that in spite of every compensation,—watchful friends, wealth, prospects,—the world seems haggard enough to the two brothers. Their uncle, Lord Duncan, now takes charge. How they are sent to the Edinburgh High School for three years—boarded with famed Dr. Adam—give proof, in every class, of sharpness and readiness of no ordinary kind, picking up successfully a fair share of what is going—are distinguished rather for love of adventurous frolic, and dexterity in the same, than for steady pulling diligence and the art of prize winning, we can notice distinctly as we pass. Dr. Adam's shout, on seeing James one day in the thick of amusement, with clothes besplashed—"I would walk with you although you were in rags !" is surely satisfactory.

In 1780, Robert entered the navy, where he served three years on board the *Foudroyant*. In the action with the *Pegase*, he displayed such heroism that Lord St. Vincent predicted that he would one day be an ornament to his country. He was destined to win *other* laurels. The *Foudroyant* returned to Spithead, and there, on the 29th of August 1782, he saw the *Royal George* go down. Then came the peace of 1783, which led, as he had no prospect of immediate promotion, to his leaving the navy. He spent some time at Gosport, profiting greatly by the instructions of Dr. Bogue, Presbyterian minister there ; attended one or two sessions at the Edinburgh University ; made the "grand tour,"—visiting Venice, Rome, Naples, and returning

by Florence, Marseilles, Lyons, Paris; married in 1786, and for nine years, down to 1795, occupied himself in beautifying his park at Airthrey, landscape-gardening, transplanting full-grown trees for himself, and for ancient esquires in the neighbourhood, by methods so ingenious, as to provoke the jest that he was contemplating the removal of the old town to a preferable site! It was in 1795, after such adventures of manifold discipline as we have seen—after many escapes in which both the brothers were taught to see the guardian arm around the children of many prayers, that the great business of life was begun by both. Robert was thirty-one, James twenty-seven years of age then. The Arabs account the idolatrous times before Mahomet's advent the "period of darkness;" on far other grounds the brothers regarded these years as spent comparatively in vain.

In the summer of 1797 three gentlemen might be seen travelling in an open carriage along the high-roads of the eastern and northern shires of Scotland. They are largely provided with tracts, written by themselves, or by such men as Simeon of Cambridge, and printed at their own expense. Fresh supplies are forwarded to the different stations on the route, Perth, Coupar-Angus, Kirriemuir, Aberdeen, Banff; 20,000 are soon circulated. When they reach a town, they go straight to the market-cross or the churchyard, one mounts a stone-stair it may be, gives out a psalm, gathers a crowd, the bellman or town-drummer helping to spread the intimation; or, in some cases, as in Orkney (for the Pentland Firth does not stop them), people summon their more distant neighbours by beacon-fires on the hills. The most conspicuous of the three is not thirty years old, and wears a marked air of aristocratism; but lately he has lived in Piccadilly, he is clad in blue greatcoat, braided in front, his hair is tied behind and powdered. In other days he has fought duels (for quickness, determination, dashing energy, naturally belong to him), he has quelled sansculottic mobs, he has battled with the elements (for he has made four voyages to India and China, and shown rare skill in seamanship), he has once calmly saved a seventy-four from being blown up, by holding his pistol to the breast of the leader of a gang of mutineers, who was just throwing a shovel of live-coals into the powder-magazine. Godless magistrates, sheep-farming ecclesi-

astics, town-officers, threatening escorts of volunteers, will not move this man. Does he not outwit the Argyle sheriff? The boldness of a British sailor, the courtesy of a British gentleman, the fervour of a Christian missionary, are his. And he has a great work to do, and the heart to *dare* and do it, though he has long thought of leading a retired life. "For the men who commenced this work of field-preaching," says Isaac Taylor, speaking of Whitfield and Wesley, who, half a century earlier, did in England what the Haldanes were now doing in Scotland, "and they were scholars and gentlemen, displayed a courage far surpassing that which carries the soldier through the hail-storm of the battle-field. Ten thousand might more easily be found who would confront a battery, than two who, with the sensitiveness of education about them, would act thus." He proceeds with his sermon, like Whitfield in this, that when addressing men he forgets everything but their misery and their immortality. He always enforces the essentials—"Consider your ways;" "Except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish;" "By grace ye are saved"—these are the topics he handles with a clearness, directness, solemnity, which spread concern like fire among his audiences. Some cry, "Stop him!" "Stone him!" One, when pressed to go and hear, says, "No, no; I never go to hear men who preach in the streets for bawbees!" and yet crowds, often as many as 6000, assemble to hear this Boanerges; reapers in broad daylight leave the fields to hear, and reap the fields again by moonlight. There is not much perhaps of what is usually called eloquence in his preaching; he seldom rises, or cares to rise, into the region of the artistic, he appeals but little to the passions; but there is that intensity of conviction, that fervour which gives wings to thought, that self-sacrificing anxiety for men's salvation, that simple trust in the might of the Spirit of God, which tells with resistless energy on the hearts of multitudes. And this tour of 1797 was but the first of a series of tours, extending over nine years, in which James Haldane, accompanied sometimes by his friend Aikman, or good William Innes, or John Campbell, afterwards the African missionary, whom the Countess of Leven playfully styled "one of the wonders of the world," accompanied once by Rowland Hill, who helped to spread the flame, preached in almost every

town and populous village in Scotland from the Solway to Shetland.

There are few things one loves more than to people the past with living forms, and see how men lived, and spoke, and acted in these old days. Of all the brilliant chapters in Macaulay's brilliant history, that one where he sets the England of 1685 before us again—its clergy and yeomanry, its clodhoppers and artisans, its wits and poets, its coffee-houses, watering-places, amusements—is surely the most fascinating. How pleasing and picturesque the Edinburgh notabilities of fifty years since appear as hit off in Cockburn ! Of course there are exceptions, and it is a question if the ecclesiastical state of Scotland in the last century will not be one. The effect of a painting depends on its contrast with the background on which it is projected, so does the effect of a narrative ; and hence to estimate, or even understand the characters and labours of these men, we must look at their times. An envious, suspicious, if not even dangerous task ; in one sense as "retrograde" to the desire of the present writer as to approach a spot where the dead lie festering. And yet no earnest man, in whatever section of the Christian Church he be, can contrast Scotland's state sixty years ago with its state now, without exclaiming, "What hath God wrought !"

Whence the darkness that lay so thick over Scotland in the last century ? With our strait limits, we have to say almost in as many sentences, it sprang from two causes, the Comprehension Scheme of William and Anne's Act of 1712. The one introduced corruption within the Church, the other created an instrument of tyranny without the Church. The Comprehension Scheme admitted a large body of the prelatie intumbents into the Church. The Stuarts tried to establish Prelacy. Four hundred ministers were driven from their charges, for refusing to own the King's authority within the house of God. Their flocks were scattered, banished, shot down on the moor, executed on the scaffold. The sword of persecution shed the blood of 18,000 martyrs. Then came the Revolution Settlement which dis-established the Prelatic Church, abolished the royal supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, restored to their parishes those devoted men who had been driven into exile, ratified the Confession of Faith, abolished Patronage. No wonder that it was accepted

as a boon. But the Comprehension Scheme admitted into the Church a body of Prelatists under the name of Presbyterian ministers—men whose chief recommendation was that they strenuously co-operated with the Jacobites to subvert the Protestant succession and Presbyterian government. These were the ancestors of that class who, in after times, supported the policy of Robertson.

Patronage was restored in 1712 in spite of the Revolution Settlement and the Treaty of Union, and now corruption within the Church, and tyranny without, soon did their work. It is true the Act of 1712 was so plain a breach of public statute, that patrons durst not at once exercise their rights. They soon took courage. The days of forced settlements, riding committees, soon wore on, the expulsion of the Erskines, the birth of the Secession Church, of the Relief Church, the gradual tightening of the yoke round the Church's neck, the swift corruption of the Church's doctrine, discipline, manners. It is easy to run down hill. Thousands of the Church's best sons looked on indignant, withdrew, built a chapel, chose a pastor. In 1784 the night reached its darkest. The Church succumbed. Patronage was now declared (never till now) to be no grievance. It was proposed to discard the Confession of Faith. Robertson here leaves the helm, for it is easier to raise a tempest than to lay it. As in some infected spot where the dank air makes one draw his breath short, we may not linger here, but let one or two of History's outstanding facts be noted. The most doughty commentator in the Church is as Arminian as Limborch; he thinks Sabbath-travelling for pleasure no wrong south of the Tweed. \*James Haldane, when a boy, has seen him trot through English town and country on the Sabbath, and taken sure note of the same. The most admired preacher in the metropolis, whose church is thronged by elegant admirers, General Frazers, Chief Baron Ordes, Lord Melvilles—by sneering infidels among the rest, all on the tiptoe of expectation—attends, it is said, to the rounding of sentences, and not the salvation of souls. The most conspicuous pastor in Ayrshire has written a "Practical Essay on the Death of Jesus Christ," containing (John Newton thinks) purer Socinianism than any book of Priestley's. He will sign the Confession if you let him write "E. E." ("errors

excepted") after his name,—will sign it because he must; for though a man may enjoy a bonfire, as one has said, will he fling his bed upon the pile? The Socinian Catechism is taught in the Elgin parish school. Even Deism is in favour. Tragedy writers, too, are of the order, who will by and by write themselves Esq., like "Master Robert Shallow, in the county of Gloster, justice of peace and coram, who writes himself *armigero*: in any bill, warrant, quittance, or obligation, *armigero*;" others (the Presbytery mayhap giving oblique glances) will push into the Edinburgh Theatre's front-boxes to see said tragedies enacted. John Knox, it is told us ("for the centuries are transparent"), kept a pipe of Bordeaux in his house at the top of the Canongate—a man of cheery social ways, whose drift surely was, "Use this world as not abusing it;" but in the after days of the eighteenth century, a fiercer drink is in all-too free circulation among Knox's professed followers—men seen on the Sabbath in the pulpit saying something about "honesty, kindness, good neighbourhood, to less than a tenth of the parishioners, and the half of this number fast asleep," by Monday evening are seen under the table. A majority in the rural districts vegetate like the trees through which peeps the parish spire; those of the class now named *gigmen* (one has seen neat specimens)—men, *i.e.*, "who *always* keep a gig two-wheeled or four-wheeled." He who resigned his place and took to farming, on receiving a solemn rebuke from James Haldane, was by no means the worst of his order: honest man! we should say one of by far the best. The class, and it is a considerable one, whose outer deeds as well as "inner imaginations," are "foul as Vulcan's stithy:" whom the Presbytery must whitewash and induct in the manse—let us pass in haste and silence. Nimrods too, are among them. The following somewhat peculiar intimation was given from a pulpit (we write on the testimony of a trusty friend who heard it):—"If to-morrow is a bad day, there will be public worship here; if a good day, I am under promise to go a fox-hunting." The bull shutting the pulpits of the Establishment against evangelical ministers of other churches, men such as Simeon of Cambridge, Rowland Hill—the condemnation of missions as "highly dangerous to the good order of society at large"—are of this date. Dr. Hamilton, of Strathblane, tells of

one of these men, who imagined that a dying man must have committed some awful crime, because in the near view of death he cried—"What must I do to be saved?" Enough! Strange state of things in the Church of Knox, and Melville, and Henderson—the Church that had seen the burning of Patrick Hamilton, and whose martyrs a century before had bled by thousands for Christ's Crown and Covenant—the Church that produced the *Fourfold State*, the *Art of Man-fishing*, the *Complete Body of Divinity*;—proving how vain are historic names and sound creeds and formularies, when the spirit ceases to animate the lifeless frame. There *were* faithful witnesses here and there, like stars, all the brighter when the night was darkest, their fine individualities and idiosyncrasies, the historical student will notice, all the more marked too, for their fewness; and the revivals under Robe, M'Culloch, and others, are eternal monuments that God did not cast the Church of Scotland utterly off; but in the main her state was as we have said. Who would deal with a fact like this in the language of recrimination—who would snigger at it from the belfry-top of church or chapel—a fact to be contemplated by every earnest man in the world with an agony of shame: a Church once so high, sunk "like a shooting star" to such *descendentalism* of torpor, that in whole shires there is hardly an instance of the Gospel being faithfully preached. These men, with their riding committees and inductions in the manse, their "law of the land," their "civil and patrimonial rights"—with their Arminianism, Socinianism, sensuality, gigmanity—we judge them not; to their own master they have long stood or fallen: but we are at liberty to say that their conduct was not only one reason why the Humes and Gibbons of that day held their heads so high—why Burns's noble genius was led and lured into such woful aberrations—why John Erskine, "the deepest divine next to Warburton, that Bishop Hurd ever knew," and his few associates were like a voice crying in the wilderness ("Rax me that Bible," &c.)—but is the great cause to this day of that deathlike indifference and irreligion around us, which should at once fire every Christian heart with zeal and melt it with the deepest tenderness. It was over such a country that James Haldane made those preaching pilgrimages, which, as it has been said,



"gave so many electric shocks to Scotland." Beautiful as tree growing out of the rock, as flower unfolding its blossoms in the waste, as verdant spot or peaceful cottage home in Alpine wild, to see the two brothers raised up in this evil time: beautiful and yet surprising.

What are the fruits of a ministry is always a deep and even awful question; and the more one reflects on it, the more devoutly does he fall back on the doctrine of God's sovereignty. *Nec volenti, nec volanti.* A faithful ministry never is without fruit, and yet the general law would seem to be that the work progresses silently like the growth of the seed under the clod. "The seed grows up we *know not how.*" It does not appear for a time, and if you burrowed in the earth to see it sprout, you would only exhibit a childish impatience. But to pry into the arcana of the vegetable physiology is a more harmless form of impatience far than to pry into the arcana of the Christian physiology. Sow precious seed—sow beside all waters—sow in tears—leave the issues with God. You are only responsible for fidelity, not for success. To some of God's choice servants it is given to see largely of the fruit of their labours, and we only quote a sample or two of facts which time tested long ago, when we state, that, so far as man could judge, one hundred and twenty persons in the town of Wick and its neighbourhood, in Thurso as many, if not more, one hundred and forty-five in and around Dunkeld, eighty in the district of Moulin, one hundred in Breadalbane, were savingly converted to God in connexion with James Haldane's amazing labours. What reader of this Memoir can forget the homely moleskin-clad carrier, who wrung Mr. Haldane's hand one day on the Edinburgh High Street, and exclaimed, as the big tear rolled down his cheek—"Oh! Sir, I am glad to see you; you preached the gospel to me at Gilmerton." The case of the dying old man of Shapinshay, in the Orkneys, ninety-two years old, a relic of Queen Anne's day, who eighty years before had prayed that God would send him the gospel—how James Haldane visited him more than once (crossing rough seas), and taught him the way of life through Jesus' blood—how the light gradually dawned, and tears of repentance and love ran from his old eyes, and how he died soon, with Mr. Haldane's hands clasped in his, saying

faintly—"I believe! I believe!"—is also among the memorabilia of the book.

Robert Haldane's selling of the beautiful estate of Airthrey, in order to carry out his plan of a great mission to Benares, with his brother and Dr. Bogue of Gosport, and Mr. Innes, and hundred-handed John Campbell, as his associates (Mr. Haldane to bear all the expense), will always be remembered as one of the noblest offerings ever laid on the altar of Christ—just as the conduct of the India House, and Mr. Pitt's Board of Control, in crushing the scheme, though Mr. Haldane was backed by Wilberforce, will always be remembered as one of the blindest and blackest acts of any Government. One of the Indian Directors declared (says Dr. Bogue's biographer),—"he would rather see a band of devils in India than a band of missionaries." Mr. Haldane viewed this refusal as a Providential intimation that he must be a missionary at home—that there is too much need of him at home. To work aggressively wherever the All-wise fixes the sphere—such is the missionary's work. The locomotive element does not necessarily enter into it. With the same noble impulse which would have carried him to Benares, Mr. Haldane begins his work at home. He brings home African children to be educated. He builds a seminary for training youths for the ministry. He builds chapels, salaries an army of labourers. If some charge him with making church-building a mere money-speculation, he can afford to pass the charge in silence. From 1798 to 1810 he spent £70,000 in the Christian cause, not to speak of his other vast outlays during the forty-seven years that elapsed from his conversion in 1795 till his death in 1842. His heroism in the strife of the Apocryphal controversy—his arduous exertions side by side with Dr. Andrew Thomson to maintain an entire, uncorrupted Bible—his stern stand, Covenanter-wise, on the text,—“Add thou not unto his words (Prov. xxx. 6), lest he reprove thee, and thou be found a liar,”—his very pertinacity in printing not fewer than fifteen pamphlets on this question alone,—have surely endeared his name to us all: and especially to those who feel how hard it is for a philosophical Christian to live in a time when there is such latitudinarianism in a large mass of our high-class literature, such a lack of any *positive* element on the

side of religion and of God—when men of the greatest name will allow that the Bible is inspired, but that Homer, Shakspeare, Schiller, Goethe are inspired as well, and have tried to cast a haze over the canon and inspiration of Scripture, through which nothing but a living faith in Jesus can guide a young inquirer safely. Is the velvet glove *always* to be worn on the iron hand? Robert Haldane will not listen even to Simeon of Cambridge, if he will admit the Apocrypha. Like D'Aubigné (his son in the gospel, as we shall see), he cries—"The Word of God only. The work of Christ only. The grace of the Spirit only." His Exposition of the Romans is one of the most precious contributions to theological literature for the last hundred years. Some have smiled at the author's ignorance of Greek, ignorance of "Transcendental Exegetics." Let them show a better book on the subject. He can preach, too, and preach so that men will not yawn when they hear him. His characteristic vehemence is equally apparent here—in the tempest of his earnestness he bursts a blood-vessel. For a time he desists—to resume again. We can see the character of his preaching from such a circumstance as the following, where, by the way, we have a fine exhibition of the rugged energy of the Scot. At Auchingray, where he resided in later years, he preached regularly, and the people flocked from all directions across the hills. One of our old friends the "prelatic incumbents" asked one of his truant sheep, in a tone of chagrin, what there was in Mr. Haldane's preaching that drew away so many? "Deed, Sir, I'm thinkin' it's just the contrary to your preaching," was the reply of the sturdy cottager. "Thou stick'st a dagger in me!" said Shylock, when he heard of his daughter's marching off with the ducats: one dreads that our rebuffed pastor, in making off, would mutter something startlingly similar.

At this point it will be necessary for us to take a rapid glance at Mr. Robert Haldane's labours in Geneva. We shall find that sixty ministers over France and Switzerland date their conversion from this time—men such as Merle d'Aubigné, Gaussen, Malan, Monod, known by sight and name so well here; Bost, Vivien, Gonthier, and Charles Rieu, of whom his biographer says, that, at his death, "he appeared to ascend in a blaze of

glory to the Master whom he loved." Of all episodes in Christian biography, this tour to Geneva is one of the most memorable. "It was of God," says Cheever, "that Robert Haldane should visit Geneva at that time." When he left home, some one asked, How long he intended to remain on the Continent? "Possibly six weeks," said he. "God leads the blind by a way that they know not." He remained three years, and during that time was honoured to do a work whose magnitude has become more visible as years have rolled on, and that will associate his name for ever with the awaking of Geneva from Arianism, or rather with the revival of the gospel over the whole of France and Switzerland.

A gentleman, about fifty-three years of age, of dignified soldierlike mien, antiquated costume, with his powdered hair retaining the queue universally worn in his younger days, hires a very agreeable suite of apartments on the Promenade St. Antoine, overlooking the gardens on the Boulevards, with a southern prospect towards Savoy and the Alps. Twenty or thirty students meet in his rooms,—their Professor frowning at them as they enter, and noting down their names,—and sit round a long table. Some of them have been feeling sad more or less that Plato and Seneca *only*, and never the Bible, are quoted as authoritative in the theological seminary of the city of Calvin, of Farel, and of Beza: for Geneva, too, has fallen from her ancestral faith. They read the Epistle to the Romans—while the grave military-looking figure above described, with no book but the Bible, gives explanations, meets objections, resolves difficulties. "Look here; how readest thou," he says; "there it stands written with the finger of God." A *living concordance*, as they call him. One student, who till then has been quite astonished to hear of man's being corrupt by nature, cries at last, "I see the doctrine of man's natural corruption in the Bible." "Do you see it in your own heart?" rejoins the man with the Bible. The question sinks like lead into the youth's heart. His name is Merle d'Aubigné. The rest are not less moved. F. Monod acts at first as interpreter, and many of the statements he has to enunciate make the youths round the table "feel as if their hair would stand on end." How noiseless is thought! Here is a very "school of the prophets." "These

rooms were the cradle of the Second Reformation in Geneva ;" one has said, " God gave the word, great was the company of them that published it." This work in its interior meanings was little known for some years—no trumpets, rolling of drums proclaimed it—it was too solid and deep for that : little known until those distinguished men who there sat at Robert Haldane's feet, brought there by the unseen leading of the Great Head of the Church, were trained and fixed in their spheres like candles to shoot their light athwart the world ! The oak grows slowly ; but it *does* grow, and stand a thousand years too. And thus how far have the glowing pages of the History of the Reformation, of the Theopneustia, not carried the truths first taught their authors here ! Gaussen wrote well that " the evangelical work at Geneva was the child of Haldane ; the work at Vaud, the daughter of that at Geneva ; and, still later, the work in France to a great extent the child of that of Geneva and of Vaud."

Can anything be more touching than Mr. Haldane's interviews with the disputatious young pastor at Montauban ? Mr. Haldane converses frequently with him on the grand essentials, walks with him, finds him steeled against the truth as it is in Jesus. One evening as they walk, Mr. Haldane makes some remarks on Christ's words on the cross, " It is finished." Soon the young pastor, feeling the glorious truth of the all-sufficiency of Christ's atonement piercing into his soul, stops, and with extended arms, vehemently exclaims, " It is too great to be true !" His old father, too, more than eighty years old, whose faith has been shaken by his son, on hearing of his conversion, becomes absorbed, and for several days goes about his house, clasping his hands and joyfully exclaiming, " It is finished ! It is finished !" How Mr. Haldane printed Luther's celebrated letter to Erasmus on Justification by Faith—sent a number of copies to M. Encontre, the Professor of Theology, for circulation among his students ; how the Professor, semi-Pelagian previously, embraced Luther's view and avowed this openly ; how the Dean of the Faculty, a man second only to La Place in mathematics, who in other days would cry, " Oh science ! science !" in his heart-struggle against the gospel's humbling truths, was convinced by Mr. Haldane's reasonings of the sur-

passing worth of Divine truth, and said on his dying bed, "I am a great sinner, but I have a great Surety,"—are some of the other marvellous facts of this tour in which every thoughtful reader of the Memoir will see the mighty hand of God. A new life pulses through all the Protestant Churches of France. "We *make* the salt," said a theological professor once to one who had expressed astonishment at his resigning a large congregation for a small class,—"*We make* the salt here." Thus wise was Mr. Haldane in planting himself at the fountain-heads, and bringing his influence to bear on those who were to be the future teachers of the Church.

In Mr. James Haldane's career, the nine years of his itinerancies, when he sometimes "preached more than sixty times in four weeks," were the brightest. When Rowland Hill went preaching through the three kingdoms, he said, "I always conceive I stick close to my parish." So with Mr. James Haldane in these years. He was heard by wondering thousands. The gospel had all the charm of novelty. He helped to rouse a slumbering land. The Tabernacle was densely crowded. For some time after his ordination, numbers were awakened or converted by almost every sermon. Dr. Jones of Lady Glenorchy's, who looked coldly at the Tabernacle and Circus (the Circus that Rowland Hill came to open, when from 15,000 to 20,000 heard him on the Calton Hill), allowed that in examining candidates for the Lord's table, he had found more instances of awakening attributed to the preaching of James Haldane than to that of any other minister in Edinburgh. His early years were the brightest, and yet who can tell the results of these fifty-three years of patient labour in the Tabernacle? The part he took in establishing the Gaelic School Society, his testimony from time to time against crying evils, his occasional preaching tours, his contributions to Christian periodicals, two or three of which, for years, he edited himself, his numerous publications, *e.g.*, against the errors of Irving and T. Erskine, along with his load of pastoral labour, show how earnestly he struggled for Christ's cause amid the tumultuous influences of the time. "How do you judge of a minister," said one to the late John Newton of London. "I measure a minister," said he, "by square measure. I have no idea of the size of a table, if you only tell me how

long it is, but if you also say how broad, I can tell. So when you tell me what a man is in the pulpit, you must also tell me what he is out of it, or I shall not know his size." Measure James Haldane by these fifty-three years of holy living and preaching. These years were not marked by such stirring events as his first tours over Scotland, as his brother's tour on the Continent; their results were not so brilliant, so instantaneous; they were years of patient sowing beside all waters; they were years not unchequered by the sharpest trials; misunderstanding with Ewing, with Aikman, disruption in the Tabernacle, estrangement from the "New Connexion," partial isolation from men within the Establishment whose hearts were earnestly occupied in the Lord's work—Mr. Black of Lady Yester's, Dr. Campbell, Dr. Walter Buchanan, Dr. Colquhoun, Dr. Jones: yet who can doubt that the labours of these years, in a multitude of instances, bore fruit unto life eternal?

Robert and James Haldane are old now, and yet was it not given them (as was said of another) to render old age itself lovely, which we are apt to consider dark and feeble? The sun seems largest at his setting. Who that saw the venerable two in life's evening, calmly looking back on lives spent in serving God, calmly looking forward to the rest of Heaven, but would wish that such an old age were his? "Goethe," 'tis said, "reckoned Schiller happy that he died young, that we could figure him a youth for ever." We are apt to share in a certain form of the feeling, when we think of Brainerd, Martyn, Kirke White, M'Cheyne, Vicars, John Mackintosh; and yet "the hoary head is a crown of glory when it is found in the way of righteousness." In Cicero, *De Senectute*, we can admire the pleasures of a philosophic old age, but who has read Cicero's description, without feeling his heart sicken at the tone of hopelessness which even the orator betrays in referring to life's closing scene? Robert is seventy-eight, James eighty-three, when he dies. Six hundred ministers of all denominations flock to James's funeral. The narrative of their latest labours, of their peaceful and triumphant deaths, is given in the Memoir without any colouring; the style here, too, as well as throughout the book, is prosaic rather than otherwise; and yet, on a contemplative mind, it leaves much the same impression as, to quote John

Foster's words, "the celestial roseate hue which forms an evening vision of such exquisite beauty on the summits of the highest mountains."

A striking circumstance which has often been remarked in the history of these two brothers is, that while they continued to itinerate, and passed from place to place simply as heralds of the Cross, they were signally honoured of God ; but the moment they took up a separate position, and tried to fashion a Church, and fashion it as nearly approaching the apostolic model as possible, an arrest seemed to be put upon their success. The ideal of a Christian Church according to the writings and practice of the apostles,—an ideal which will not only point out the broad outlines of Church doctrine, worship, discipline, government, but also lay down details, and resolve various intricate and abstruse questions as to the frequency of dispensing the Supper, the mode of administering baptism, the scripturalness of lay-preaching and mutual exhortation by the brethren, and which will condescend to explain whether a plurality of elders be indispensable in every rightly constituted church, whether the whole congregation or merely "the church" should contribute to the weekly collection,—the Haldanes, too, found to their cost that here is a "Serbonian bog where armies whole have sunk." An examination of their success and failure here should teach lessons.

Is lay-preaching an evil, and is it concluded on this sole ground that this arrest *must* have occurred in the nature of things? There needs little be said on this subject, as we can see no great difficulty in it. Some take very high ground, and say that any Christian man may preach. Did Wilberforce transgress the laws of any Church, they will argue, when he wrote the *Practical View*? Might he not have read its successive chapters to any audiences that might choose to hear him, whether fifty, five hundred, five thousand? Might he not have spoken them? And what is this but preaching? We frankly grant it, and say when you get a Wilberforce, by all means let him preach. When the Earl of Shaftesbury, two years ago, in the Lords, proposed the abolition or some large modification of the Conventicle Act, and spoke of the good that might result if Christian men, though without episcopal ordination, should



read the Bible and pray with groups of poor wicked peasants in a workshed, or barn, or barrack ; we admired the question with which the worthy Earl of Congleton puzzled the mitred heads, How does the Bible say (Acts viii. 1, 4) that when the persecution arose against the Church which was at Jerusalem, and they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, *except the apostles, . . . they that were scattered abroad* went everywhere preaching the word, if lay-preaching be unscriptural ? We admire it still, and say from the depth of our hearts, Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets ! And yet were we in a mood for argument, it could be said that the disciples in this case were miraculously endowed, so that the fact of their preaching cannot be construed into a precedent when miraculous gifts have ceased. It could be argued that in a partially-organized Church many anomalies are tolerated and even necessary, which would not be tolerated in a Church thoroughly organized. When a man is off the beaten path, if he is determined to move only in that path, he cannot move at all. It could be argued that when the Westminster Confession asserts, for example, that the civil magistrate has "power to call synods," the clause is on all hands understood to apply to an imperfectly constituted state of the Church.

But, on the other hand, those who would proscribe lay-preaching from jealous regard to the status of the ministry, ought to see that all that is really solid in this question is completely guarded by the old commonplace—the exception strengthens the rule. We cannot see the point of Dr. Andrew Thomson's merriment on this subject, in his review of Robert Haldane's work on the Evidences. The Church of Rome is wiser here than some Protestant Churches. If any of her sons *will* make a crusade in her cause, she carefully provides a niche for him within her pale. She bids him tie a rope round his waist, nurse his beard, starve his body—she loads him with relics, and lets him indulge his evangelistic knight-errantry if he will beyond the wall of China. And this is one popular element at least in that Church "out of which there is no salvation." Again, we say, the exception strengthens the rule. The most scrupulous churchman may feel reassured and cheerful. Men like the Haldanes do not appear often. And when we view the vast

work to be done, the tide of profaneness that rolls along our streets whose spent waves break in even on the seclusion of rustic parishes, the solid front which infidelity and loathly forms of vice present, and the powerlessness of faithfully administered ordinances ; when we see how the growth of our manufacturing towns and cities has outrun the supply of the means of grace so far that tens of thousands within hearing of the Sabbath-bell are as estranged from the gospel as the Tartars that roam the desert, the young prowling in "winged raggedness" through dense lanes and wynds from which jails are filled, the old dying without knowing how to put words together to pray,—as ministers of Christ, and by every consideration of religion and of patriotism, we appeal to every man who loves his Saviour in the words of Dr. Guthrie (on Ezekiel, p. 13) : "Think not that this noblest work is our exclusive privilege, nor stand back as if you had neither right nor call to set to your hand. What although in the Church you hold no rank ? No more does the private who wears neither stripes on his arm nor epaulettes on his shoulder ; but, although a private, may he not die for the colours which it is not his privilege to carry ? . . . Where sinners are perishing, where opportunity offers, where a door is open, where the rule, 'Let all things be done decently and in order,' is not outraged and violated, call it preaching if you choose, but in God's name let hearers preach. . . . Thousands, tens of thousands, are dying in their sins. Although every minister were as a flaming fire in the service of his God, every bishop were a Lattimer, every reformer were a Knox, every preacher were a Whitfield, every missionary were a Martyn, the work is greater than ministers can accomplish ; and if men will not submit that the interests of nations and the success of armies shall be sacrificed to routine and forms of office, much less should these be tolerated where the cause of souls is at stake."

'But "provision has been made," observes a great writer, "that the trees do not grow into the sky." Some thing or two will always keep them far short of that. How then does this hold true of the Haldanes ? We shall soon see.

Let us ask every candid reader what is the great ecclesiastical event of the century in Scotland ? We believe he will answer, the revival of Scotland's Church. What relation did the Hal-

danés bear to this event? At the best a negative one. How? Thus :—

1. They had no solid ground for separating from the Church of Scotland. At first they did not profess to have. Their doctrines were the doctrines of the Westminster Divines. Their preaching was the same as the preaching of faithful ministers in the Establishment. The Established Church was then sound in her constitution. She was still the Church of 1560. She was still the Church of 1592, which passed the celebrated statute by which were abrogated "all acts, laws, and statutes made at any time against the liberty of the Kirk, as the same is used and exercised in this realm." She was still the Church of 1638, which the sword of the Stuarts could not put down—the Church of the Revolution Settlement. The principle of Non-Intrusion, the principle of freest spiritual liberty, was coeval with her existence. For these she struggled with "kings and patrons, priests and curates, leaders of the General Assembly and dragoons on the hill-side." Even in 1799, her constitution was as sound as ever. There were dreadful evils in her. Heresy was tolerated, immorality was tolerated, missions were condemned, faithful ministers were forced out, faithless ministers were forced in. But these evils were administrative, not radical. A faithful minority in the Church protested against them, sought to remedy them. That minority was increasing. The Logans, Homes, Carlyles, Blairs, Robertsons, had had their day. The day of Moncreiff, Thomson, M'Crie, Chalmers, was coming. Had the Haldanes stood at their posts side by side with these! The day-star was rising, the tide turning, the deep sleep breaking, when they left. If the ship is sinking, leave her and take to the long boat; but if she is becalmed, take her in tow—if she is mismanaged, put her under new command and man her afresh. The schismatic faculty is, after all, but a small one. Any one may sit in a vestry six feet by eight. To separate even from a corrupt church is never the first act of a great man, but the very last. Luther strove to remain in Rome's communion, and preach the new doctrine of justification by faith in Jesus, till the Roman lion sprang at him. The Erskines, who were thrust out of the church, let us say, did well: Boston, who would not be thrust out of a church fundamentally sound, did better. When the

Haldanes left the Church of Scotland, there was a party within her struggling against the domination of a corrupt majority; and as soon as their principles were in the ascendant in 1834, such was the impulse given to the Christianity of the land, such was the spirit of love and zeal and self-sacrificing liberality shed down from on high, that in 1839, five years afterwards, the collections for the different Christian schemes were fourteen times greater than in 1834. A revived Church was bringing the gospel to bear on the outcast masses. Church Extension was prosecuted on so large a scale, that in the city of Glasgow alone twenty new churches were built. The Veto wrought so well, patrons presented such men, that out of 200 only ten were vetoed. To have separated from such a Church without any really pleadable reason, was their grand error. The sin of schism, in a very aggravated degree, is chargeable against them both, a sin of which it is painful to add neither of them seems to have had any just perception.

2. They had no very specific aim after separating from it. The position which they took up, first as promoters of modern Congregationalism, then as Baptists, was the result of a succession of accidents. When they began their labours, they never aspired to be leaders of a new sect, they never contemplated separation from the Establishment. Why *did* they separate, and for *what end*? Their biographer justly remarks, "It were well if their views had always remained the same," and adds, "In the very nature of things this was not to be expected." To go wrong is the way to go further wrong. A tug is useful in helping a ship in the narrows. But if the tug's crew, instead of co-operating with the ship's crew, beckon them ("Let us have a trim gallant thing of our own!") to desert the ship and come on board the tug, perhaps the case is altered! To take the becalmed ship of Scotland's Church in tow—to help those earnest men who kept her afloat when William's prelatinc incumbents would have possibly scuttled her, and who laboured to get her rigging, masts, machinery, into repair again—the Haldanes saw and must have seen that here lay their special work. We have seen how nobly for a time they performed it. But two years scarcely pass when we find them in a schismatic position. Unfortunately the coadjutors thrown in their way, some of them at

least, if good in the main, were restless narrow men. Ewing wished a "new system of church order." He converted twenty-four students from Presbytery to Congregationalism in one year. Aikman felt "mixed communion" an "intolerable burden." Innes had quitted the Establishment, Carson the General Synod of Ulster. These were the men with whom the two brothers now stood side by side—until gradually by the force of circumstances, and without any well-digested plan or purpose whatever, they found they had turned their backs on the Establishment—then became the props of Congregationalism, and, after the disruption of the Tabernacle, the props of the Baptist sect in Scotland. The assertion that they slid slowly into this position is proved by the fact that James Haldane was not baptized till 1808, eleven years after his first great preaching tour. It is sad to see men of real breadth and power gradually imitating the sectarianism of those who had as good as cajoled them away from their real work—gradually wasting their strength on vexed questions—deserted by those very men who, in plain words, had led them on the ice—and left practically (for in system and in theory they may hardly have contemplated it to the last) in the position of attempting to prop up a sect whose basis as distinct from the Establishment is, that infants have no recognised privilege or *locum standi* in God's house under the New Testament as they had under the Old—and that although the children of believing parents dying in infancy may be admitted into "the general assembly and church of the first-born, which is written in heaven," they cannot be members of the visible Church on earth. An effort surely to steady the inverted pyramid! It will take two or three strong men to steady it. The fear is the inverted pyramid will never be steady. All this time the disrupted "New Connexion" is left like a frail ship drifting rudderless. But perhaps the reader is full of the idea how dangerous to meet a man who has converted twenty-four Presbyterian students to Congregationalism in one year. Oh Ewing—lover of "new church order," "father," real or reputed, "of modern Congregationalism in Scotland," or whatever title thou didst either covet or deserve, although thou didst "refuse D.D. twice," I am not without amazement at the bulk and acrimony of these pamphlets!

Schismatic in position, catholic in principle—such is the character which history will give the Haldanes from the date we speak of ; and yet they were broader than their creed. There is a sense in which every true Christian is, for his faith embraces the whole Bible. The just idea of a Church's Confession of Faith is not that it contains a systematized view of her interpretation of the Bible, but that it contains her testimony against the errors by which she has been assailed. Doctrine as presented to repress error, must be different in form from doctrine as presented to enforce truth. Much has been said in condemnation of a logical theology in these times, as if Divine truth for no reason were cast in a controversial mould ; as if the very waters of life were made to pass through the strainers of an artificial theology. The Bible, it is said, should be the only confession of every true church,—the Bible interpreted in the spirit, and not in the letter ; and if the heads and hearts of all professing the name of Christ were under its power, and its holy precepts translated into the practice of their daily lives, the brotherhood of all churches could better recognise their oneness in Christ, and realize a far higher idea of Christian union than either the Reformers or the Westminster Divines. Be it so. But let us suppose that the divinity of Christ is impugned. The Church is the pillar and ground of the truth. It is her duty to raise a counter-testimony ;—her Confession of Faith contains this one article. The perseverance of the saints is impugned. It is again her duty to raise a counter-testimony ;—her Confession contains two articles. The inspiration of the Scriptures is impugned ;—she must raise her voice again, and her Confession contains three articles. If her Confession be as long at last as that of Augsburg, the responsibility is not hers. She is not to blame for her logical theology. No one lamented more than Calvin the necessity which drove the Church to use a scholastic nomenclature in defending the truth against the subtleties of her adversaries. Her Confession is but a manifesto of the different heresies by which she has been attacked ; each article a fortress built where some enemy has threatened to storm the citadel of the faith. Until we see some one silly enough to deny that "Marcus was sister's son to Barnabas," a creed can never be as broad as the Bible. Happy would it be

for the Church of Christ, most glad would she be, if the world, and the different sections of herself were so circumstanced, that her Confession could be reduced to the fewest articles, that her *Theologia Elenctica* could be abolished altogether; and signs are not wanting (the recent Conference at Berlin among others), which we would fain view as portending the dawn of a brighter day. Wholesale denouncers of confessions and symbolic books, as if they ranged Bible truths in polemic array without reason, should know that their censures are pronounced against the wrong party, that heresiarchs are answerable for the logicalness of the Church's theology, and that a church's confession, in its true idea, is not her *simple* interpretation of the truth as it is in Jesus, but her interpretation of it in her character of witness-bearer against various and ever-shifting forms of error. Perhaps they might also learn that no profession of transcendental oneness in regard to the spirit of revealed truth, will either give a church sufficient guarantee of the soundness of her members in the faith, or even enable her to prevent their holding and spreading the rankest heresy.

The solitary article, therefore, which was made to protrude so disproportionately in the creed of the Haldanes, will not lead the thoughtful student of their times to any other conclusion than this—that they believed the churches taught error on the subject of baptism, and determinedly strove to set us all right. Will he not feel thankful then if unconvinced? They were out of their place, as we saw, separated from those massive and heroic men who were honoured of God to fairly turn the tide of gospel truth in Scotland, and yet, in the best sense, their “branches shot over the wall.” In the narrative of some of Mr. James Haldane's later tours, we can occasionally see a schismatic tinge in his observations, when he barely, if at all, alludes to the labours of evangelical men in the Establishment whom the great Head of the Church was beginning to raise up in increasing numbers, especially when he states (a statement which we are utterly at a loss to comprehend) that, in 1803, he could not hear of one who preached the gospel to the north of the Cromarty Firth. In his publications, too, the same thing is visible—especially in his *Commentary on the Galatians*, where this subject of baptism is pressed on us with tiresome frequency,

not, perhaps, without studied shunning of the pith of the argument,—and yet the unceasing labours of both the brothers, of James as a great preacher, of Robert as a great writer, made it impossible that they could long be aught else than catholic. Talk is sectarian—Erskine wonders that John Newton could live in the English Church with baptismal regeneration, Newton wonders that Erskine could live as the colleague of Robertson: work is essentially catholic. The labourer who makes a patch of the earth greener, is his work not catholic? To cast out devils in the name of Christ, to break up the fallow ground, and be instruments in speeding the day when the wilderness shall be covered with trees of righteousness, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose, to recognise a brother in every one who is similarly occupied, is catholic in a far deeper sense. No one could tell, from reading the *Pilgrim's Progress*, that the writer was a Baptist. No one could tell, from reading Robert Haldane's *Commentary on the Romans*, that the writer was a Baptist. "We have baptized two persons," wrote a friend of his once. "I should have been much better pleased if you had written, that you had converted two persons," was the answer. Beautiful, too, is the following, as the speech of one who has sloughed off sectarianism pretty much. When at Montauban, M. Chabrand, a burning light, pastor and professor at Toulouse, pressed him to visit that city. "Since you are here," said he, "I see enough of Toulouse. I would willingly go sixty leagues to meet another Christian, but I would not go six to visit a city." Later in life he said to a venerable relative of his, still alive, who told the writer, that if he were beginning his Christian course again, he would probably remain in the Church of Scotland. Of course he said this long after God had visited the Church of Scotland with a glorious revival. The distinctive creed, the church-position of the Haldanes was narrow enough—and yet in heart and life they held fast by the Bible, which is broader than any church; and as they ripened for the rest of heaven, a feature which conspicuously shone with mild and mellowed lustre in both their characters, was that love which is the bond of perfectness, the sum of all theology, the truest reflection of the character of God himself. The Bible, we have said, is broader than any church. "The Vatican is great," says one, "but



nothing to Chimborazo, or the Peak of Teneriffe; and what is the dome of St. Peter's compared with that star-fretted dome where Arcturus and Orion glance for ever?"

"The system does not work," said Robert Haldane frankly to his friend, Dr. Bogue of Gosport, in 1821. The sect of the Baptists has never flourished in Scotland. Why not, when it has flourished in England? Perhaps the question may be answered by another—Why have the Wesleyan Methodists never taken root in Scotland, when they have taken root so widely in England? The same answer, at least, will suffice for both.

The main reason is, that the Church of England never had such a hold of the hearts of the English nation as the Church of Scotland had on the people of Scotland. The Reformation in Scotland was more thorough than in England. The Reformation in England was regarded by a large body of the nation less as the result of the labours of Cranmer and Hooper, Ridley and Latimer, Parker and Grindal, than of Henry's rupture with the Pope. It was cramped by the arm of power. It was not allowed to develop itself. Henry would not allow it. Elizabeth would not allow it. The Church of England was regarded too much, to use Macaulay's words, as the offspring of a "compromise huddled up between the eager zeal of reformers and the selfishness of greedy, ambitious, and time-serving politicians," to make it likely that she could win the hearts of the mass of the people. They knew that her founders had corrected all that required correction in the doctrines of the Church of Rome, but they knew that they had done little more. They admired her venerable forms and institutions. They knew that the sagest heads had grown grey in devising and perfecting them. But there was always a large party in the English Church who dissented from her constitution, and whose sympathies were all with the churches of Calvin and of Knox. They were essentially Presbyterians. So influential was the party, that Heylin, a bitter enemy of Presbytery, allows that the early death of Edward VI. saved the Church of England from becoming wholly Puritan. This party remained in the Church down to the times of Charles and of Laud. They formed the great proportion of the Westminster Assembly. As soon as the Church of England

was freed from the pressure of the civil power, she developed herself after the Presbyterian model. Before the Restoration of Charles II., she was wholly Presbyterian. All her cures were held by Presbyterians, and in several parts of the country they succeeded in establishing Presbyterian Synods. Charles was restored, and the English hierarchy was reorganized. The Puritans were now a separate body, and various bodies of Dissenters had arisen during the Commonwealth. From facts like these it is plain that the tie which bound the mass of the people to the Church of England was not strong.

In Scotland it was different. The Reformation there was a complete return to primitive Christianity. It was a revival of the primitive order and discipline of the Church. It was a life from the dead. Its grand characteristic was, that in various parts of the land, as Knox informs us, earnest men "brought, through the wonderful grace of God, to a knowledge of the truth, began to exercise themselves, by reading of the Scriptures secretly." The Church of Scotland was a "vine brought out of Egypt," and planted by God himself, until it took deep root and filled the land. At every stage of her history she was called to suffer for Christ's name. For her principles our fathers shed their blood. Her testimony is our dearest birthright. Hence the strong link by which the best of Scotland's sons are bound to the historical Church of Scotland.

Another reason why the Baptists did not succeed in Scotland is to be found in the speculative character of the people. The English are a practical race. Tell an Englishman that no instance of an infant having been baptized is recorded in the Bible, and the possibility is that you make him a convert immediately. The Scot is not so easily convinced. The "Proverbs" and the Shorter Catechism, his early text-books at school, have added somewhat to his natural shrewdness; he can estimate evidence on both sides of a question at once—he can draw deductions. He says, "Not so fast; we read of whole families baptized: no infants in these—eh? whose is the *onus probandi*; what says the analogy of faith?" And so of Wesleyism. John Wesley denied the sovereignty of the gospel, because he could not see the harmony between the sovereignty and the freeness of the

gospel. The doctrine of predestination he designated as "blasphemy which might make the ears of a Christian to tingle." Tens of thousands in England were inoculated with his Arminianism. And yet in spite of his saintly character, and although instead of thrice he could have preached thirty times daily, our ancestors in Scotland shrunk from such treatment of doctrinal subjects as superficial and slapdash recklessness. "Is it mine," they said, "to sit in judgment on the deep purposes of God above? Is it mine to say that Bible truths are not reconcilable because I cannot reconcile them? Two rocky headlands, a mile apart, rise high and steep from the sea, guarding like twin sentinels the entrance to a landlocked harbour. They are connected, for both are results of the same upheaval; the roots of both rest on the fire-depths of the world. I cannot *see* the joining line. Ere I could, I must dive at least into the green depth that rolls between. If I cannot see how the Sutors of Cromarty are joined, alas! how dare I dogmatize on seeming discrepancies in the counsels of Him who is from everlasting to everlasting,—counsels whose foundations are deep in the past eternity, and which rise to a height above angels' ken in the course of a never-ending administration,—counsels in regard to which Paul exclaims, 'O the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out.'" So parted Wesleyism and our ancestors. In Shetland alone of all Scotland it has taken root pretty widely—Shetland milkmaids, they say, chant Wesleyan hymns and carols in the year 1857—suggestive of something.

The class of labourers employed was the last reason. The fathers of the Reformation wisely arranged that, in as far as the use of means could insure that end, the ministers of the Church of Scotland should be men of gifts as well as piety. All honour to the Haldanes that they sent forth nearly three hundred labourers, but a large proportion of these, as competent judges have told us, were far inferior, in qualifications if not in training, to the catechists and Scripture-readers of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. All honour to the labourers, too, in a way. Peter Grant with his vein of poesy, and William

Tulloch, are names dear to many of their countrymen. Dimly remembered talk from your mother in early years of how a passing stranger looked in, prayed beside your aunt's dying bed, and told her of the blood of Christ which cleanseth from all sin, will make you feel a life-long tenderness for the stranger. Such tenderness does the writer feel for the name of Farquharson. And yet as a class these men could not instruct—in some cases they taught much error; so that wherever a godly ministry was secured in the Established Church, the little chapel was deserted. In no country is there less hope for a slenderly-qualified ministry than Scotland. And as a large number of the ministers must be had from among the mass of the people, the leading churches in the land, if they would prove themselves alive to the exigencies of the time, must unitedly set themselves to advance the great cause of Christian education. Beside a quiet lake in the Highlands, we knew many years ago of 100 or 120 meeting every Sabbath in a humble barn, which was long used as the Baptist meeting-house. The gospel was not preached in the parish churches of the district. We lately passed the spot and found a snug chapel near the site of the humble barn. On making inquiry as to the attendance, we learned, not without emotion, that it averaged from six to ten, and that the disheartened "elder" had left for America. We thought of Robert Haldane's words to Dr. Bogue in 1821. In England it was different. The Baptist John Bunyan alone with his friend Gifford—Foster and Robert Hall in our own age—could do a thing or two to make their faith popular there.

In closing these remarks, we shall single out two lessons which the lives and labours of the Haldanes are fitted to teach—a lesson to the Church, and a lesson to the world.

Their success among the masses should stimulate and encourage the different sections of the Church of Christ. For just as Elisha stretched himself upon the dead child of the Shunamite, "put his mouth upon his mouth, and his eyes upon his eyes, and his hands upon his hands, until the flesh of the child waxed warm, and he opened his eyes," so these brothers laid themselves alongside of the dead masses even in the darkest

spots in the land, and ceased not to labour and pray till they saw many a glorious resurrection. The salt must be spread over the corrupt mass ere its pungency can be felt. We must come into contact with the people in the pulpit and out of it. We must remove those hindrances that keep men from hearing the gospel, or neutralize its effect when they do hear it. We must roll away the stone from the grave of Lazarus. And whether it be drunkenness which like a deadly vampyre sucks the life out of so many limbs of the body politic—or the bothy system that demoralizes our rural population—or the system of over-crowded dwellings, which in great towns turns the homes of the poor into scenes of squalor, and disease, and crime—or whatever moral or economic evil plagues that great class which forms the thews and sinews of the nation; as Christians and as patriots it is our duty to lift up our voice and use every means for its extermination. Alongside of this let church-extension—let open-air preaching be prosecuted. Pleasing movements in this direction, not unsneered at by some as anti-Spurgeonism, have lately appeared in the Church of England. Let every Christian man do his share. Not only in our pulpits do we need men of such self-sacrifice, intensity, untiring activity, prayerful expectancy as the Haldanes; but, with cityfuls of corruption, with a world lying in wickedness around, we need Christian labourers at every post; in the fore-castle of yonder ship a Christian sailor, in yonder thunderous factory a Christian artisan, in yonder kitchen a Christian maid-servant. Perhaps the fact that during this same year and the last, one or two laymen, signally honoured of God, have preached with such power in many parts of the land, as the Haldanes began to do exactly sixty years ago, should have a specially admonitory and awakening influence on the churches at the present time.

But the lives of these brothers may teach every one a lesson. For, note this one fact—they *set a noble aim* before them. They manfully strove to realize the chief end of man. *Αἰὲν ἀπιορευεῖν*—this also was their motto. We cannot live always: we can only live once. It is then the dictate not only of piety but of sound philosophy that we lay a “good foundation for the

time to come." "Why paint your cabin," says good Matthew Henry, "when the ship is sinking?" Very true. Much more then why try to make it an Aladdin's palace? To fill up life with serving God, to be instrumental in breaking down Satan's kingdom, to be instrumental in peopling heaven, to triumph over death, and to join at last in the anthems of immortality with those whom God has used him to pluck as brands from the fire—this will be the aim, from this hour, of him who follows the example which these men have left. Can he have a nobler? Ah me! compared with these as to height of aim, how strangely do those who exulted in successful ambition, climbed fame's steep pinnacles, revelled in pleasure—voluptuous George Fourths, earth-shaking Napoleons, great Earls of Chatham, Fichtes, Goethes, soaring and cutting strange antics in the empyrean of speculation—seem shorn of all their splendour! To walk in a vain show is no man's wisdom. What if death in the case of many is a leap into the dark? Reasoning man should look to it. He whose watchword is duty, whose guiding lamp is truth, who acts with a regard to the highest end of his being, who occupies the trust committed to him as a steward of the Most High, who is sustained by the hope of eternal rest when his work is done—is the truly great and wise. His sphere may be the humblest. To say as some will do, that it was easy for the Haldanes to act as they did, as an excuse for doing nothing, is a fatal error. None can reach happiness but through tears. He who sits down without one effort to use the opportunities at his disposal for "serving his generation according to the will of God," would not have acted as they did, if God had placed him in their circumstances. Further, to admire these men, and the halo that encircles their names, is one thing, to imitate them is another. The one is an æsthetical matter, the other is a moral and spiritual matter. And of all mental states we cannot conceive a more deplorable one than the state of him whose heart now burns with admiration for the pure and lofty characters of others, now breaks with contempt for the conscious worthlessness of his own, and yet whose daily life is a proof of the thorough mastery which evil exercises over him. Be it ours to imitate them as they imitated the stainless

Exemplar. That bright destiny is now pointed out to us, to which the Saviour directed them when He appeared to each astray in the wilderness of earth, and—

“ From thence far off he unto him did shew  
A little path that was both steep and long,  
Which to a goodly city led his view,  
Whose walls and towers were builded high and strong :  
Of pearl and precious stones, that earthly tongue  
Cannot describe, nor wit of man may tell :  
Too high a ditty for my simple song !  
The city of the great King, hight it well,  
Wherein eternal peace and happiness doth dwell.”

SPENSER.

# THE OFFERINGS OF CAIN AND ABEL

AS ILLUSTRATING

PRIMEVAL FAITH AND PRACTICE;

A CRITICAL EXPOSITION OF GEN. IV. 1-8.

BY THE

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## THE OFFERINGS OF CAIN AND ABEL.<sup>1</sup>

THE existence of a religion dependent on Divine communications, or a life of faith, long prior to any written revelation, must, in various respects, have modified the character of the latter. This may be one reason of its having been made to assume so largely a historical form, while the same fact has also doubtless operated with respect both to the omissions and the materials selected, on the assumption that with many of the ideas the reader was already familiar or partially acquainted. The grand aim of the Record, however, as a revelation of God, is never lost sight of; and that aim is carried out by making it at the same time a revelation of man, whose character, like that of the Divine Being himself, can be best learned from a faithful narrative of his acts and utterances.

But Scripture history, even in its strictest sense, is not simply retrospective: it is so charged with prophetic elements that it has also a special aspect to the future; is concerned with principles more than with persons, and with the latter only as illustrating the former. Thus it is that while its earliest notices are few and fragmentary as regards the history of the times, or of individuals, they afford nevertheless comparatively ample materials for elucidating and confirming those truths which constitute the Bible the religious instructor of mankind. How inconsiderable an element the past or the merely personal formed in this history appears, for instance, from the scanty notices of Adam after the Fall, during a lifetime of well-nigh a millennium, compared with the particulars given of him previous to that event, when he sustained a public character and a relation affecting his posterity and all future time.

<sup>1</sup> From an "Introduction to the Pentateuch, Critical and Doctrinal," in preparation, by the Author.

These considerations, along with the fact that revelation was of a progressive nature, but so that the earlier was truly the germ of the later development, and thus not essentially different from it, are not always sufficiently adverted to by the Biblical commentator; though deserving of the most careful consideration, particularly in connexion with the earliest portion of Holy Writ. They have a special bearing on the subject of the present exposition.

With the fourth chapter of Genesis, the first verse of which announces the propagation of the race, properly begins the history of fallen humanity. Here, where in very brief compass is comprised the first birth and the first death, everything is, in the circumstances, necessarily new, yet in strict accordance with the altered constitution of things, and with the provision made for man's recovery from a state of sin. But though in a manner contrary to the experience of those who had been created in a condition of uprightness, these incidents and issues have been so often repeated in the history of their posterity, as to render them not only familiar, but, as it were, natural to the race. The more specific purpose of this narrative, however, is to show how, notwithstanding the spread of sin with the propagation of mankind, the Divine idea contained in the promise of redemption (Gen. iii. 15) began to be realized in and through humanity, by the establishment, notwithstanding, too, an apparent check, of the kingdom of God in antagonism to the power of evil.

In the birth of the brothers Cain and Abel, the diversity of their dispositions, as exhibited in their respective modes of worship, and in the consequences thence resulting, there was much to exercise the faith, and to enlarge and enlighten the apprehensions of the men of the early world. Some particulars of those actings of faith on the first disclosures of Divine grace, and the harmony of that incipient light and life with the Gospel of the New Testament, it is the object of the following remarks briefly to indicate.

The parental relation, which, though founded on man's original constitution (Gen. i. 28), commenced not until after the Fall, must have introduced a new epoch in human life and experience, second only in importance to that which originated

with the creation of the second human being. "And the man knew Eve his wife, and she conceived and bare Cain, and said," &c. The term אָדָם, with the *article*, is not to be taken as a proper name: the father of mankind is not designated ADAM until after the birth of his sons, or until by the addition of a second male human being he ceased to be "*the man*" (Gen. iv. 25). The woman is here introduced not merely as *his wife*, in virtue of the original constitution and law of marriage (Gen. ii. 23), but also with the remarkable designation conferred on her after the Fall—EVE (חַוָּה), that is, LIFE, "because she was the mother of all living" (Gen. iii. 20). The name given to her by her husband at a time when they two were the only human dwellers on the earth, and were moreover lying under a sentence of death (Gen. iii. 19), is, with its accompanying explanation, strongly expressive of Adam's faith in the promise of grace, which even already presented itself to him as life from the dead, and a restoration of the blessing forfeited through sin. This is the only direct evidence of the extent of his faith, and the nature of his expectations; but indeed all that is related of him after the expulsion from Paradise, is the fact that he became a parent, and died, in accordance with the law under which as a transgressor he was placed. It is, therefore, the more memorable as the solitary monument of the first man's interest in the promise and in the life which it revealed. There are, however, collateral circumstances confirmatory of the correctness of this deduction,—evidences of similar faith and expectations on the part of the woman, the instrument of his fall, but by Divine grace constituted, as himself acknowledges, the medium of his recovery.

Of the state of Eve's mind from the time when she charged the serpent with her fall, up to the birth of her first-born, no intimation is given; yet, from her language on this occasion, there is sufficient to indicate the direction which in the interval her hopes had taken. As bearing on the preceding observations, it may be remarked, that in bestowing a name on her first-born, as also on her other sons—an act deeply significant in a Scripture point of view, Eve, there is little doubt, acted with the concurrence of her husband; and so the ideas expressed by the names may be viewed as common to both

parents. That such was the case may, with great probability, be inferred from the fact, that as regards Seth, their third son, the bestowal of the name is indifferently ascribed to the father and to the mother (Gen. iv. 25 ; v. 3).

In considering the nature of the expectations cherished at the birth of Cain, it will be necessary to settle first of all the proper translation of the remarkable expressions by which the bestowal of the name was accompanied.

It will not be denied, even by the most strenuous opponents, that the words *אֶת־יְהוָה* admit *philologically* of being rendered, "I have gotten a man, Jehovah." The objection that to express this it would have required *אֶת* also before *אֶת־יְהוָה*, is fully disposed of by a reference to Genesis vi. 10 ; 1 Kings xi. 23, and other passages. Nor will it be questioned that it is a rendering which strictly preserves the primary and usual force of the particle *אֶת* before Jehovah, which is more or less sacrificed in every other version. Thus the LXX. *διὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, and Vulg. "per Deum," make *אֶת* equivalent to *אֶת* ; the English, and some other versions, "from Jehovah," take *אֶת* for *מֵעַתָּה*, while the generality of modern expositors take it for *עִם*, as in the expression *עִם־יְהוָה* (1 Sam. xiv. 45), and so render "with the help of Jehovah;" one and all expedients to get rid not of a philological but dogmatic difficulty.

The particle in question occurs repeatedly in this portion of Genesis—forty times exclusive of the present instance in the first four chapters, and in every case it is used as the sign of the accusative ; it is so in the first clause of this very verse. Nor is there any certain evidence that it has in itself ever any of the other meanings above assigned to it. Were it, however, possible to produce examples of a later, or a poetical usage which delights in variety and brevity of expression, such must undoubtedly yield to the rule observed in the Mosaic writings. It is true, indeed, that even there *אֶת* has in several instances apparently a prepositional force, *with*, in company *with*, and *beside* or near to, but entirely dependent on the context ; for example, *אֶת־יְהוָה* "to walk with God" (Gen. v. 22, 24 ; vi. 9) ; and *אֶת־אֱבִירָה* (Gen. xix. 33), compared with *אֶת־שָׁבַע* "to lie with" (ver. 35). So also, *אֶת־אֱלֹהִים* "to make (cut) a covenant with one" (Gen. xv. 18). But in these,

and other instances of a like kind, there is nothing which in any way can be made to favour a departure from the literal rendering of Gen. iv. 1, and in fact they are never appealed to with that view by the best writers. In these cases, either the verbs are intransitive, or the expressions are otherwise so peculiar, as to show that the particle is obviously used in a secondary and unusual sense, yet so as to prevent any ambiguity, and so entirely different from the passage under consideration. Accordingly, to use the words of Dr. Pye Smith, "there seems no option to an interpreter who is resolved to follow faithfully the fair and strict grammatical signification of the words before him, but to translate the passage as it is given above."

But although there is no philological objection to that rendering, it is urged that, *dogmatically* considered, such a view of the matter implies a knowledge of the promised Redeemer, far exceeding anything deducible from the revelation then vouchsafed: and, at the same time, utterly incongruous with the gross error manifested in the application of the prophecy to Cain.

This objection, however, originates in a misapprehension. It determines Eve's views of the Redeemer, or of the term Jehovah, by the deep significance which is known from subsequent revelation to belong to that Divine name, instead of inquiring into the sense attached to it on this the only recorded occasion of its use in the first age of the world's history. In matters of this kind it is obviously needful to distinguish what is introduced from the historian's own point of view, and what he relates as to any particular period.

Much of the religious knowledge of the parents of mankind unquestionably originated after the Fall. This is true at least of their knowledge of a Saviour and salvation, and which must have depended alike on the amount of Heaven's communications, and their own spiritual apprehension of the truths revealed, both of a growing character. This was particularly the case, it will be shown, with the idea represented by the term Jehovah.

This is the peculiar name of God in His character of Redeemer. It accordingly comes chiefly into view in connexion

with any special deliverance purposed or procured by Him for His people. Preparatory to the exodus, God in the most explicit terms identified Himself indeed as Jehovah (Ex. vi. 2, 3). From the language employed on that occasion, it is sometimes argued that the name was previously unknown, and that when introduced in the earlier history, it must have been proleptically. This, however, is at variance with the facts of the case, particularly with the use of Jehovah in the formation of a proper name of the patriarchal period. That name is **MOBIAH** מֹבִיָּא (Gen. xxii. 2), originating in Abraham's intended sacrifice of Isaac, and formed from the participle Hophal of מָרָא, *to see*, and a contraction of מָרָא, thus signifying "the shown of Jehovah," or the appearance of Jehovah, as explained in verse 14: "Abraham called the name of the place Jehovah-jireh (מָרָא מָרָא, *Jehovah will see*), as it is said, In the mount of Jehovah he will appear"—מָרָא מָרָא מָרָא. The incident gave rise, as here stated, to a proverb in Israel, forming a prophetic anticipation of a more glorious manifestation of God upon the scene of the former appearance. But, however interesting the investigation, it is beside the present object to consider the bearing of this allusion on the unity of the Pentateuch, the traditionary history of the patriarchs, the preparation for the establishment of the theocracy (Ex. xv. 17), and the incarnation of Christ, with all of which it is more or less related.

While it may therefore with certainty be concluded that Jehovah is not introduced proleptically in the language ascribed to Eve, although throughout the chapter, with the exception also probably of the last verse, the historian evidently writes from his own point of view, it does not necessarily or at all follow, as presumed in the above objection, that she used it to designate the Divine Being. The term itself is etymologically the *future* Kal of מָרָא, an obsolete form of מָרָא, *to be* (see Ex. iii. 14), and properly signifies, "He that shall be," much as *ὁ ἐρχόμενος* in the New Testament is used of Christ with reference both to his first and second advent (Matt. xi. 2; Rev. i. 4, 8; iv. 8), although this, as employed instead of *ὁ ἐσόμενος*, distinctly applies to the *manifestation*, and not to the *being* of the Redeemer, and so indicates a great advance in the idea. All that can fairly be deduced from the language of Eve is her

belief that some distinguished personage, promised and expected, had now appeared, but nothing as to his character and qualifications further than that he was "the seed of the woman" announced to her in the first promise. Jehovah was thus at this early period the proper name of the Redeemer, but not yet a Divine designation, the identity of Jehovah and Elohim being the matter of future revelations. It accords with this, that wherever Eve speaks of God both before and after the Fall, it is as ELOHIM. Her knowledge of the character of the Redeemer, however, was greatly enlarged, as shall appear, at the birth of Seth, corrected, in part no doubt, by the melancholy history of her family.

But not only the Messianic views of the mother of mankind, those of the Sethites also, her descendants, were attaining to greater clearness and consistency. The Psalmist's prayer, "Give us help from trouble, for vain is the help (*salvation*) of man" (Ps. lx. 11), well expresses the feelings of the true worshippers of God at the period when Seth called his son ENOSH, *אנוש*, that is, *man* in his weakness and insufficiency (Ps. viii. 5); and when in the same connexion is added (Gen. iv. 26), "Then it was begun to call upon the name of Jehovah," the promised, and now, as appears from the contrast, the recognised superhuman Deliverer. This intimation, it is almost needless to remark, cannot, after a previous notice of the offerings of Cain and Abel, refer, as generally represented, to the origin of public worship; nor from the use of *אנוש*, *then it was begun*, can it indicate its resumption, after it had been interrupted through terror occasioned by the death of Abel. It is the first recognition of the *Divine* character of the promised Conqueror of the Tempter,—the rise of what may be called, from its fundamental principle, *Jehovism*, although that term expressed at the time but a dim apprehension of the great mystery of the incarnate Deity.

It would far exceed our limits to trace the progress of this great truth as it gradually expanded in the time of Lamech, when Jehovah was recognised as the author of the curse upon the ground (Gen. v. 29); and again immediately after the Flood, when Elohim is for the first time designated the *Elohim of men*, and the relation of Jehovah to Elohim first unmis-



takably unfolded (Gen. ix. 29), both periods being preceded by express revelations; the one by the prophecy of Enoch (Jude 14, 15), and the other by the communications made to Noah. Notice has already been taken of Abraham's view of Jehovah, grounded on the transaction of Moriah; and with this agrees the subsequently frequent use of that Divine name by the patriarch. It was thus that at special epochs of reviving faith and expectations the name was ever attaining new significance and a deeper hold upon the heart of the godly. Such an epoch, in particular, was that preceding the exodus, Israel's hopes reviving as the predicted period (Gen. xv. 23) of their Egyptian sojourn drew to a close. The strong convictions of that time, apparent in the fact of Moses stepping forth to vindicate and avenge his countrymen, in the belief that they would hail him as their deliverer,—manifest also in the parents of the child Moses (Heb. xi. 23), particularly in the mother, are remarkably attested as regards her parents too by her name JOCHEBED (יִכְבֶּד), "the glory of Jehovah" (Ex. vi. 20). This is the first instance of the name entering into a personal designation,—a strong proof, however, that it had now become precious and familiar to the mind of the faithful. But not until the exodus itself did the idea become a *general* article of faith, when, as already remarked, by an express revelation (Ex. vi. 2, 3), confirmed by the deliverance which ensued (Ex. xx. 2), it was placed in a light which it continues to occupy throughout the remainder of the Sacred Record.

Viewed thus as presenting the germ of the great principle of Redemption, the language of Eve is divested of the difficulties usually supposed to attach to it, being exactly what might be predicated of her case; and therefore little need be added to exhibit its particular import, the religious convictions it expressed, and wherein it was defective. There can be no question that on this most memorable occasion in her history the thoughts of "the mother of all living" reverted to the promise regarding "the seed of the woman;" and that she saw in her first-born not merely a pledge of the realization of the promise, but the very Deliverer that had been announced. This appears from the marked relation between ~~she~~, *man*, the perfection of the manly nature (Gen. ii. 24), and

*Jehovah*; and also in part from the name Cain (קַיִן), *an acquisition*, or perhaps, *a weapon, a spear* (2 Sam. xxi. 16), from an obsolete root קָן, rather than from נָקַן, *to acquire*; for in such etymologies similarity of sound is frequently more attended to than strict grammatical derivation (see Gen. v. 29). This *acquisition* the first mother may have viewed as a *weapon* put into her hand wherewith to assail the author of her overthrow, and so not only forgot her anguish for joy that a man was born into the world (John xvi. 21), but also in the fulness of her confidence overlooked the feebleness of the infant before her, when she already spoke of him as a *man*.

Eve, it is evident, had not yet learned what painful experience was about to prove, that "that which is born of the flesh is flesh" (John iii. 6), or the nature and consequent duration of the conflict which had in fact only just begun; and yet her misinterpretation of the prophecy was natural, perhaps unavoidable, considering the general character of the Divine announcement, and the absence of anything specific as to time; while it certainly affords on the other hand evidence of strong faith in the promised deliverance, and of earnest desires for its speedy advent. The first birth of the first mother was in itself an event altogether peculiar; and not only so, it followed in the train of a prediction which raised, in fact, the blessing of creation (Gen. i. 28) from the sphere of nature to constitute it a channel of Divine grace, so that with a foundation for faith there was afforded ample room for misapprehension.

The birth of Cain was followed by that of another son, of whom it is merely said, "And she again bare his brother Abel." From no mention being made of a second conception by Eve, many unwarrantably conclude that Cain and Abel were twins. But be that as it may, the child whose birth is thus briefly intimated, was named קַיִן, by the LXX. written Ἀβελ, which Josephus and many of the Fathers falsely explain by πένθος, as if from קָן, *sorrow*, but which properly signifies *a breath* (Isa. lvii. 13), and generally anything *evanescent* (Job vii. 16). So appropriate, indeed, is the term to Abel's history, that many suppose it was commemorative of his untimely end, and not his original designation; but as Cain was certainly so named at his birth, it is reasonable to conclude

that such also must have been the case with regard to the younger brother. Others again recognise in it only a mother's partiality for the first-born, in comparison with whom the second is lightly esteemed. It accords better, however, with analogy, and with its place in the history, to suppose that the name Abel, no less than the appellations Cain and Seth, the three sons of Adam, of whom only of his sons and daughters (Gen. v. 4) specific mention is made, represented some distinct and distinguished phase in the parents' spiritual life and experience. Considering the remarkable significance of the Hebrew proper names, originating in the desire of the parents of the early world to express and perpetuate their hopes, fears, and affections in the names of their children, which have thus become admirable monuments of a past existence, resembling in a manner the fossils of the geologist, nothing so probable as that at this stage in her history, Eve, convinced of her previous misapplication of the Divine promise, designates her second son by a name applicable not only as it proved to his own sad case, but also to the condition of the fallen race, agreeably to the Psalmist's declaration, "Only for utter vanity (לִפְתִּי-לָהּ) was every man ordained" (Ps. xxxix. 5). By this time the mother may have learned that sin was hereditary, and that her offspring, no less than herself, shared in the consequences of the Fall—a truth she might not have known at the time of Cain's birth, but sure to be elicited from her earliest converse with the infant mind.

Upon this intimation of the birth of the brothers follows a notice of the respective callings to which on reaching manhood they betook themselves. Nothing is recorded of their childhood or youth, of the parental instructions, or other circumstances, whereby their characters were so differently moulded and developed, and even their calling is mentioned, it may be supposed, only because of its bearing on the account of the offerings which they brought to the Lord. "Abel became a keeper of sheep"—רֹעֵה צֹאן, a general designation of those employed in pastoral affairs (Gen. xlvii. 3); "and Cain was a tiller of the ground"—עֹבֵד הָאֲדָמָה, synonymous with עֹבֵד הָאֲדָמָה—"a man of the ground" (Gen. ix. 20; see 2 Chron. xxvi. 10); but different from עֹבֵד הָאֲדָמָה—"a man of the field" (Gen. xxv. 27), the designation

of the hunter. Man's exigencies after the Fall made physical labour a necessity; and his first efforts must have been directed to the procuring of a supply of food and clothing; but it evinces a high state of civilisation, to find that from the earliest period recourse was had to settled occupations and division of labour; a proof, if there be any truth in this history, that the primeval state of man was not the savage barbarism it is frequently represented.

Next is an account of the religion of the two brothers; not, however, as a disquisition on first principles, or on the identity or diversity of their beliefs, but in the usual Scripture method, showing how it was embodied in solemn, sacred acts, with the import of which the reader is supposed to be familiar, or if not, which he can learn elsewhere from the more direct teaching of Scripture upon such points.

But what chiefly deserves notice in the religious practices of those times is, first, the fact that there was a stated place of public worship. That there was some specific locality where God manifested His gracious presence, is proved from the expression, "*brought an offering to Jehovah*;"  $\text{הָבִיחַ}$ , or its equivalent  $\text{הָבִיחַ}$ , being the usual terms in the Levitical dispensation (Lev. iv. 5; Isa. xliii. 23). Yet undue stress must not be laid on this argument, for the reference in  $\text{הָבִיחַ}$  may be only *personal*, and not *local* (1 Sam. ix. 7; xxv. 27); it must therefore be taken in connexion with the peculiar symbolism of Paradise, particularly the location of the cherubim at the east of the garden, and also with Cain's feelings regarding his exile, as driven from the face of the earth, and hid from *the face of Jehovah*, and the notice (ver. 16), "Cain went out from the presence of Jehovah"— $\text{וַיֵּצֵא אֶת קַיִן מִלְּפָנֵי יְהוָה}$ , compared with  $\text{וַיֵּצֵא אֶת קַיִן מִלְּפָנֵי יְהוָה}$  (Lev. iv. 15)—the place whither offerings were brought.

It further appears, that there were stated seasons for public worship. So much is indicated by the expression, "It came to pass at the end of days"— $\text{וַיְהִי עַד יְמֵי}$ , although it is impossible to determine to what precise period this applies. The words, as elsewhere used, point to the expiration of a certain time, of longer or shorter duration (Gen. viii. 6; see also 1 Kings xvii. 7, comp. xviii. 1); rendered more definite in Jer. xiii. 6,

by the addition of מַרְבֵּי, *many*. In the present passage, some writers suppose the reference to be to the *week*, a cycle which the history of the flood shows to have been early in use, but more probably it is to the *year*, as would also seem to be the case in 2 Sam. xiv. 26.

Again, it may be inferred, and indeed with far more certainty than belongs to either of the preceding conclusions, that there were prescribed rites as to the way of approach to God. But as this conducts into a very wide and debatable field—the origin of animal sacrifice—it will be advisable to reserve any observations to be offered in substantiation, until the nature of the first two recorded offerings has been considered, and the Divine judgment passed upon them.

These offerings were evidently contemporaneous, and possibly, indeed probably, the first presented by Cain and Abel in their own persons; the occasion being some epoch, or important but unspecified anniversary in their history. They are indifferently named מִנְחָה, a term which primarily signifies a *present*, brought to conciliate a superior and secure his favour (Gen. xxxii. 14; 1 Sam. x. 27; Ps. xlv. 13), but here used as a common name of offerings presented to Jehovah, though more strictly applicable to the unbloody offering, as distinct from זֶבֶח, a victim, *slaughtered*, and מִנְחָה, *laid upon* the altar (or, as some suppose, *ascending* in flame), the burnt-offering, similar to the distinction in δῶπα καὶ θυοίαι (Heb. v. 1). But more particularly, Cain's offering consisted "of the fruits of the ground," and as such was strictly a *mincha*. It was one which in particular cases was sanctioned by the Levitical law; but it is of importance to observe that it never appears again in the primeval or patriarchal worship, and even the unbloody offerings of the law were really connected with the shedding of blood, the only case, that of extreme poverty, where an animal sacrifice was nominally dispensed with (Lev. v. 11), finding its necessary complement in the expiation of the great day of atonement (Lev. xvi. 34). Abel's offering, on the contrary, was an animal oblation, consisting of מִנְחָה זֶבֶח מִבְּרִית, a selection from (מִן, *partitive*) the firstlings of his flock, and from (or namely, *explicative*, Gesenius, *Gram.* § 155) the fat of them; that is, the fattest or best of the firstlings (מִן being

often so used, Gen. xlv. 18 ; Ps. lxxxi. 17), and which, although not so stated, must obviously have been slaughtered.

But with this great, and as shall appear fundamental distinction between the two offerings, the narrative presents one or two features which they possessed in common, and of which, in order to form a correct estimate, some notice must be taken. First, these tokens of religious homage, however different in expression, or in the principles from which they sprang, were ostensibly preferred to the same great and adorable Being, whom the historian names Jehovah, but who had made himself known to mankind from the beginning as the Author of creation, ELOHIM ; and since the Fall, revealing himself as JEHOVAH, the Author of redemption, but without any abnegation of his original character. In neither case was there aught of idolatry, properly so called, to provoke the jealousy of Him who will not give His glory to another ; nor indeed, so far as yet appears, any approach to irreverent profanity. Secondly, the gifts presented were in both instances the offerers' own property. This is plainly stated in the case of Abel ; but it is no less implied, that "the fruits of the ground" presented by the husbandman, Cain, were the product of his industry and skill. Like David, they did not offer to the Lord that which cost them nothing (2 Sam. xxiv. 24) ; and so both manifested an interest and earnestness in the matter—indispensable elements in all true sacrifices. And sure it is, that if the history broke off here, or if it did not so completely harmonize with the scheme of revealed truth, we should have little to warrant the drawing of any broad demarcation between the devotional sentiments of the two brothers ; or if such a distinction were made, the pre-eminence doubtless would be awarded to Cain, as the first to engage in this pious exercise, and presenting an offering not only seemingly more rational in itself, but more likely to find favour with the Deity, than the bloody rites of Abel, which revolt the natural feelings of humanity. But the history does not stop here ; on the contrary, it carries out these first principles to their legitimate conclusions, and so impresses on the reader, at the very outset of man's fallen career, the essential difference between nature and grace.

But with the minor points or circumstantials now specified

terminates the similarity of the two actions, which are essentially separated both in aim and origin by a gulf which the most laboured expositions of Rationalism will never be able to bridge. God himself pronounced their diversity; and in that judgment is found the key to the enigmas of this very remarkable story. "And Jehovah had respect to Abel and to his offering; but to Cain and his offering he had not respect"—רָאָה, *to look*, followed as here by בָּרָא, *to look favourably at, to approve of*. This reception of the one, or this rejection of the other, it cannot be too emphatically stated, was not through the mere exercise of arbitrary power, or the simple display of sovereignty. God's procedure here presents no anomaly, but is in strict conformity with the principles which, on the distinct showing of Scripture, uniformly regulate his treatment of sinners—"Just, while justifying the ungodly;" and in accordance with which there has, ever since the Fall, been one and only one way of acceptable worship. No favouritism or caprice at any time characterized the acts of Him who is no respecter of persons.

A case exactly parallel with the present, even in minutest particulars, is that presented in our Lord's parable of the Pharisee and the Publican (Luke xviii. 9-14)—"Two men went up into the temple to pray, the one a Pharisee and the other a publican:" the former knew of no sins to confess, and no forgiveness to supplicate; but the latter prayed, "God be merciful to me a sinner," and "he went down to his house justified rather than the other." It is true Moses does not state in so many words that Cain resembled those for whose benefit this parable was spoken—"certain who trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and despised others;" yet, evidently, such was the case. From anything apparent in the history, there is no reason to conclude that Cain was at this time what would be called a *wicked* man. There is nothing to insinuate that he was notably deficient in his filial and fraternal relations, or in any of the other great moral duties. But it is in the character of the offering he presented that his feelings of self-complacency are to be traced.

This, however, reconducts to the point already adverted to, the evidence furnished in this narrative of a divinely appointed

mode of worship. Two acts of primeval worship are here recorded ; but one only was recognised by God. Now, did the acceptance of the one in any way depend on its accordance with a Divine precept, or did both acts alike originate in the worshipper's own conceptions of what was right and proper ; and their diversity depend on the accidental callings of husbandman and shepherd ? The latter alternative is frequently maintained, and on such a theory a very simple and plausible explanation can no doubt be given of Cain's offering. Nature, it may be said, teaches that there is a God, that He is to be worshipped, honoured with our substance and the first-fruits of our increase (Prov. iii. 9). And this oblation, it may be admitted, was intended by Cain as an expression of thanks to a bountiful and beneficent Creator who had crowned with blessing his agricultural labours. But this reasoning altogether fails in the case of Abel, whose offering, it were easy to show, was of a kind naturally abhorrent to the human mind, and particularly to the unsophisticated instincts and simple manners of a society not yet accustomed to slaughter animals even for necessary food. Admitting, however, that this case is as easily explicable on natural principles as the other, still the fact remains that the animal sacrifice only was accepted, and without any assigned, or, upon this theory, assignable cause—a conclusion not readily reconciled with the object of the sacred historian, or of revelation in general.

Admitting that religion is in a sense natural to man, that it springs out of his necessities, intellectual and moral, so that he must worship ; yet it is a first principle of Scripture that only that service is acceptable to God which accords with His own prescribed rule (Matt. xv. 9 ; Col. ii. 23). It is therefore exceedingly improbable that man was ever left entirely to his own devices in this important matter. The Divine origin of sacrifice is certainly not expressly stated in Scripture ; nor is this strange, considering the place it held in patriarchal worship, and in the ritual of those to whom the Bible was primarily addressed ; but various considerations combine to show that sacrifice must have been an institution of Paradise, and so from the Fall a principal constituent of Divine worship.

The question, " Wherewith shall I come before the Lord,



and bow myself before the high God?" (Micah vi. 6), must have been one of the earliest which pressed on the sinner's convictions, and imperatively demanded a reply. It is a question, too, on which his own reasoning could shed no light; to be answered at all, it must be answered by God. He it is accordingly who furnishes the much-needed instruction. First, the sinner is assured of an interposition of God in his behalf, which will result in victory over the enemy through whom his ruin had been wrought. This victory will be achieved not by the sinner himself, but by a representative intimately related to him, and who shall himself in some way suffer in the undertaking.

But with this assurance of final deliverance there was in the promise little or no provision for the relief of present guilt, which must have pressed as an intolerable burden on the conscience, especially in connexion with the rigorous but righteous measures which excluded the fallen from Paradise and the tree of life. Now, as these measures themselves were certainly designed to be expressive of important truths, to keep up the remembrance of sin as death and estrangement from God, it was obviously necessary in a revelation of grace that there should be some discovery of the method whereby the attainder and sentence of banishment could be removed. Such a discovery, it cannot be doubted, was made, even were the fact not recorded; but unmistakable evidence of it is found in that symbolical act whereby God provided clothing—"coats of skins"—for our fallen progenitors. No tolerable explanation can be given of that circumstance, other than that the animals thus slain were offered in sacrifice. Viewed thus, the place of this additional intimation, before the sentence of exclusion from the garden was pronounced, corresponds exactly with that of the first promise made before any sentence was pronounced upon the transgressors, mercy in both instances going before judgment.

Waiving, however, at present, all subsidiary arguments confirmatory of the Divine origin of animal sacrifice, it will be sufficient to indicate how from its very nature and design it must have been contemporaneous, or nearly so, with the first announcement of redemption. Two great principles had now

been established ; first, that the wages of sin is death. This had been announced in the primal threatening, and was already realized in the sinner's own experience. Secondly, that God designed mercy for man ; this was expressed in the great promise, and symbolically represented in the preservation of the tree of life and in its cherubic attendants. But it needed another institution to embody and combine these two ideas, to harmonize in fact two seemingly opposed principles. This was effected through sacrifice, which more than any other ordinance was fitted expressively, and by its frequent repetition, continuously, to exhibit the complex idea or relation of the sinner's desert of death and his deliverance from it. This idea is so important, and at the same time of so fundamental a nature in the scheme of Divine grace, that the existence of faith, or at least its lively exercise, is scarcely compatible without some knowledge of it.

It is no valid objection to this reasoning that no mention is made of animal sacrifice down to the time of Abel, for, in fact, no mention is made of any religious acts in the history of Adam, and yet it would be a rash conclusion to infer that he did not engage in such. Notice is taken of it in the case of Abel only, because the principle involved was more distinctly brought out by the contrast which it presented to that of Cain. It may however be supposed that the act of God in Paradise did not so much enjoin as point out the import of the sacrificial rites, leaving it to the sinner's own convictions to avail himself of this medium of approach to the Divine presence. If so, Cain's procedure was the disparagement of a proposed remedy rather than the violation of a specific command. But however that may be, there is evidence sufficient to show that it has been a principle in operation from the commencement of the dispensation of grace, that "without the shedding of blood there is no remission"—how well understood, appears from the fact that throughout Genesis Cain's offering is the only one of its kind.

These deductions from the general tenor of Scripture are confirmed by express testimony. "By faith Abel offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain, by which he obtained witness that he was righteous, God testifying of his gifts ; and by it he, being dead, yet speaketh" (Heb. xi. 4). Abel's

offering was more excellent, *greater* as to importance and worth, than Cain's (πλείονα θυσίαν παρὰ Κάιν). The supposition that it was so, because more valuable in a pecuniary point of view, or selected with greater care, is altogether untenable. It must be some distinction, not of a relative, but of an absolute character, which separated it from that of Cain. This was no other than the fact that it was an *animal* oblation (θυσία), and not "the fruits of the earth," and also that it was thus offered "by faith." Now faith must have for its object some expression of the mind of God; otherwise, however strong the confidence, it is, as regards spiritual things, not faith but fancy. Any such expression of the plan of reconciliation must be sought in the promise of the woman's seed, or in the act of clothing the nakedness of the first guilty pair. It has already been shown how our first parents viewed that promise, but no information could be deduced from their statements as to the manner in which they conceived their deliverance should be procured. But now, besides the general ideas of life restored to a perishing race, and of a conqueror, through whose partial sufferings it should be obtained, there was expressed in the action of Abel the idea of substitution and of atonement made through death,—the first elements indeed of the life of faith.

The express mention of Abel's faith necessarily leads to the inference that Cain lacked that principle—that he was unconvinced of sin, and felt no need of mercy or of the blood of atonement. The same is also probably intimated by another apostle, when characterizing the false teachers of his own day as "ungodly men, turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness, and denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ;" and as "speaking evil of those things which they know not; but what they know naturally, as brute beasts, in those things they corrupt themselves" (Jude 4, 10). That there is here allusion to the disposition of Cain appears, first, from the fact, that the persons described are said to have been "before of old ordained (οἱ πάλαι προγεγραμμένοι) to this condemnation," long ago so marked out and designated; and secondly, they are said to "have gone in the way of Cain" (τῇ ὁδῷ τοῦ Κάιν ἐπορεύθησαν). It is immaterial whether the

description be applied to the earlier or later stages of Cain's history, for the one was but the natural development of the other."

But though destitute of faith, it may nevertheless be concluded, that up to the time of the rejection of his offering, there was nothing gross or openly profane in Cain's character. He had a religion, and in its exercise he was regular, if not conscientious. He was sensible that homage was due to the Creator, though apparently unconscious of his standing as a sinner, and his consequent relation to a sin-hating God. In coming to deal with God, he came, like the Pharisee already referred to, to give, not to get; to render thanks to God, not to supplicate favour or forgiveness: no wonder that he departed in no degree a wiser or better man. His brother, on the contrary, coming as a sinner, left as a saint, "God testifying that he was righteous," and as such he is spoken of throughout Scripture (Matt. xxiii. 35).

How God gave testimony of his acceptance of the one offering, and of his rejection of the other, does not appear; but it must have been in a way which left the worshippers in no doubt as to the fact. The act, whatever it was, whereby Cain's offering was rejected and his proffered worship condemned, not merely ruffled the surface, but stirred up the lowest depths of a previously pleased and placid consciousness. "And Cain was very wroth;" *וַיִּחַר*, *to burn*, used only of anger, the construction *וַיִּחַר לוֹ* being an ellipsis of *אָז*, *anger* or *rage*; "and his countenance fell," *וַיִּפֹּל פָּנָיו*, the indication of a mind disappointed, and ill at ease. "He was very wroth," but with whom? The history does not say: certainly not, as too hastily assumed, immediately with his brother. Rather it was with all indiscriminately; with God, with himself, with every one and everything around him.

In strong contrast to this soured and sullen disposition, which, instead of penitently acknowledging its own wrong, challenges the Divine equity, is God's expostulation with His wayward creature. "And Jehovah said to Cain, Why art thou wroth? and why is thy countenance fallen?" The remaining portion of the address, however, from its elliptical character, presents considerable difficulty to the biblical

critic and expositor, yet much of this, it is believed, can be obviated by careful attention to the context, without recourse to any attempts, sometimes exceedingly rash, to amend the original.

The expression *וְהָיָה אִם-חַיִּיבָהּ לָקוּם*, in the English version, "If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted?" is more literally, "Is it not so? if thou doest well, there is a raising" or lifting up. *לָקוּם*, an infinitive with feminine form of *קָם*, to lift up, primarily means "a raising up" (Job xli. 17 [25]), then "an eminence, a raised place," particularly a swelling in the skin (Lev. xiii. 2); lastly, "pre-eminence" (Gen. xlix. 3; Job xiii. 11). The present passage is evidently elliptical, but to supply it by *וְנָקַם*, as in *וְנָקַם לָקוּם*, to pardon sin, to lift it up and away (Ps. xxxiii. 5; Job vii. 21; Gen. l. 17), is inadmissible, because of the connexion with "well-doing." The correct view unquestionably is to supply *פָּנָיו*, the face or countenance, as in Job xi. 15, "Then shalt thou lift up thy face (*וְנָקַם פָּנָיו*) without spot,"—a state denoting security and confidence, and the reverse of *וְהָיָה אִם-חַיִּיבָהּ*, in the account of Cain's temper. There is thus no reference, as frequently assumed, to the pre-eminence of the birthright, or the relation in which the brothers stood to one another. It is an exhortation from evil, charging guilt home to the sinner's consciousness. To convince Cain of his guilt, God points to the fact, that the evidence of his not having done well, is legible even in his countenance, and He will further show him the danger of following on in such a course: "If thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door." Sin is represented as a savage animal already crouching (*רָבַץ*, used of the lion, Gen. xlix. 9) before the door, and ready, on an opportunity given, to invade his dwelling, or seize him as he incautiously issues abroad. The comparison of sin to a beast of prey explains the construction of the substantive *feminine* with a *masculine* participle—*וְהָיָה אִם-חַיִּיבָהּ*, "sin is a lie-in-wait."

There is no authority for taking *וְהָיָה אִם-חַיִּיבָהּ* in this passage, as is frequently done, in the sense of *sin-offering*, a secondary signification sometimes, no doubt, of that term, but only in a particular connexion. It is so applied exclusively to an animal set apart for sacrifice, and fully consecrated, in a word, "made sin,"

according to the terms *חַטָּאת* (Lev. vi. 19 [26] ; ix. 15), not well rendered "that offereth it for sin;" but strictly, "that maketh or constituteth it sin." The victim has been made *sin* (*חַטָּאת*), made to represent or embody it; just as it is said of Christ, after the Levitical type, *ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν*, "He made him to be *sin* for us" (2 Cor. v. 21), not a sinner, or a sin-offering, but a representative of sin. The term is utterly inapplicable to an animal at large, suitable for sacrifice, the only possible assumption here, and can be used only of the victim actually consecrated for that purpose, and because of its consecration.

But apart entirely from this insuperable objection, to say, that in the event of Cain not doing well, he is directed to take a sin-offering, and thereby obtain reconciliation and acceptance with God, sounds, in the circumstances, much like an encouragement to sin. It is solely as a warning from sin, and not as an intimation of the way of forgiveness, which, judging from the example of Abel, was already sufficiently revealed, that this expostulation is to be viewed;—an expostulation, be it observed, with an unhumiliated man, unconvinced of sin, and unconscious of his need of atonement. It is not to such that God displays the rich provision of the gospel (Matt. vii. 6). The light which directed Abel was sufficient for Cain; and it is a rule of the Divine government, that only to him that hath shall more be given (Matt. xiii. 12.)

The language of the next clause, *וְאַתָּה תִּשְׁקֶהוּ*—"To thee its desire, but do thou rule over it," is parallel with that which describes the relation constituted between husband and wife after the Fall: "To thy husband thy desire, but he shall (or let him) rule over thee" (Gen. iii. 16). The subject of affection in the present case is a point much disputed, many interpreters holding that the expression refers to Abel, and intimates the deference of the younger brother to the elder, who, by birthright, was invested with authority or rule. This, however, is exceedingly problematical; for, in fact, there is no evidence in this expostulation with Cain of any reference to Abel. The matter is wholly personal to himself; and it does not even appear that his wrath had as yet been particularly directed against his brother. Nor is there any proof of such

a relation constituted between brothers. In the parallel passage there is obviously authority committed by Divine sanction to the husband, but it cannot be deduced from Scripture that similar authority was intrusted to an elder brother. The language of Isaac to Jacob, when personating his elder brother, "Be lord over thy brother," and of Jacob himself respecting Reuben, "The excellency of dignity and the excellency of power" (Gen. xxvii. 29 ; xlix. 1), certainly intimates some pre-eminence as belonging to the firstborn, but not such a rule, on the one hand, and subjection on the other, as the present passage declares.

But admitting that the reference is to Abel and to the relation between the brothers, what is the result? An argument natural enough in the mouth of a weak and too indulgent parent, but by no means comporting with what was plainly the Divine purpose on this occasion. The language is that of solemn, urgent warning, and is not to be construed as holding out to the guilty any ground in his present state or circumstances for self-gratulation and encouragement. The reference is simply to the bearing of sin ready to make him its prey, the language forcibly depicting sin's inmost disposition towards the sinner, as it seeks to enter into the closest, even conjugal union with him, and make him completely its own ; while he, if considerate of his safety, should not suffer it to have dominion, but should subdue it and check its first risings. The exhortation thus strictly corresponds to the apostolic admonition, "Let not sin reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof" (Rom. vi. 12).

That this made some impression upon Cain may probably be inferred from his silence as contrasted with his sulky replies after the murder of Abel to the interrogations of God. He does not even vindicate his conduct like that prophet who petulantly said, "I do well to be angry, even unto death" (Jonah iv. 9). But if in any way softened or subdued, it was only for a time, although it need not be supposed that the murder of Abel, the next incident recorded, immediately followed the Divine expostulation. Sin does not usually proceed at such a pace ; it was probably gradually developing itself in Cain's conduct, until it issued in that horrid crime. So

much is implied in the society and intercourse subsisting for a time between the brothers. "And Cain said to Abel his brother," &c., *וַיֹּאמֶר* is not *talked* or *spoke*—the proper rendering of *וַיֹּאמֶר*—but *said*, followed by the utterance which ensued ; but as such is wanting in the present case, the passage constitutes a notable difficulty in biblical criticism. Several ancient versions very arbitrarily supplement the text ; thus the Samaritan adds, *וַיֵּלְכוּ*—"Let us go into the field ;" so also Aquila and the LXX., *διελθόμεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον*, and in the same manner the Targums of Jerusalem and Jonathan. The Masora, on the contrary, distinctly notes, *כאן פסוק*—"Here there is no lacuna." The English, and many modern versions, take *וַיֹּאמֶר* here as equivalent to *וַיֵּלְכוּ* ; but so distinct are these verbs, that there is no example to warrant this interchange. Other explanations have been offered ; but there is no alternative to the interpreter who will be guided by the evidence before him, but to recognise the sentence as incomplete, the words spoken being omitted by the narrator as immaterial to his main purpose, although it is probable that they gave rise to the altercation or controversy which led to Abel's death.

"And it came to pass, when they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him." *וַיָּקָם* is to *rise up* as turned towards one : *קָם* (Ps. iii. 2) is the more common expression. The former points to a more secret or hidden purpose (see 1 Sam. xxii. 13 ; xxiv. 8), the latter to an open, proclaimed hostility. Throughout the narrative, Abel is styled the brother of Cain, in order not only to express more fully the heinousness of the crime perpetrated by the latter, but also to mark out distinctly the two classes of mankind as represented even in the first family.

The immediate cause of the murderous act is not stated, but the motives from which it proceeded are sufficiently plain. Self-righteousness, wounded pride, envy, murder, was the horrible declivity down which Cain rushed. He saw his brother recognised as the favourite of Heaven, while he himself was rejected ; he saw, moreover, and chiefly in his brother's life and conduct, a continued protest against the course on which himself had entered. That it was this conflict, rather than the distinction made by the Lord with respect to the offerings,



that chiefly urged him to the fearful act, may, with some probability, be inferred from the general features of Cain's character; and it is certainly intimated by the Apostle in reply to the inquiry, "Wherefore slew he him? Because his own deeds were evil, and his brother's righteous" (1 John iii. 12). But not only this silent example awakening opposition, words of warning may have been uttered, fitted still further to provoke the malignity of Cain. In Luke xi. 50, 51, Abel is classed among the prophets; and may not the prophetic office be the more immediate cause of his brother's hostility, and the murder a device to silence the convictions of the prophetic word? True, not a single saying of Abel has been preserved, yet it is declared concerning him, that "being dead, he *yet* speaketh," *ἔτι λαλεῖ* (Heb. xi. 4)—language which plainly implies some such testimonies on his part; for death did not silence his voice, but only gave it louder utterance: his life, his death, his blood speaks, but above all his sacrifice (*δι' αὐτῆς* referring to *θυσία* and not to *πίστις*), which continues still to proclaim, as in apostolic times, that salvation is through blood, as it had, in contrast to Cain's eucharistical offering, from the earliest period testified that for sinners there was approach to God by no other way.

The fate of Abel read many lessons to the men of the early world; but it is only of its moral and spiritual effects that Scripture takes cognizance. Of the shock to the natural parental feelings no mention is made. As regards, however, faith and hope, there is careful record of the terms in which the mother—bereaved, in effect, of both her sons, the one by a brother's murderous hand, the other by banishment from his family and the face of God—recognised the trying dispensation: "And Adam knew his wife again, and she bare a son, and called his name Seth; for God [said she] hath appointed me another seed instead of Abel, because Cain slew him" (ver. 25). This statement contains various particulars illustrative of the growing convictions of the import of the first great promise.

It shows that the expectations originally centred in Cain were, as the character of the brothers unfolded itself, transferred to Abel, so that he only was recognised by the mother as "her seed," *בְּרִיתָהּ* (Gen. iii. 15). Cain, instead of proving

"an acquisition," or "a weapon" for the destruction of the tempter, showed himself to be the enemy of truth and righteousness. In the controversy waged in her own family, she witnessed a painful illustration of the words, "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and *between thy seed and her seed*;" and so obtained an insight into their meaning possibly unsuspected before. It proved to her, however incredulous she might be as a mother, that "Cain was of that wicked one"—ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ (1 John iii. 12), and that the serpent of the temptation had a seed among mankind.

It further shows that the faith of our first parents, instead of suffering from the shock, was confirmed, because corrected. The second son born into the world had been regarded as a fleeting "breath," the thoughts of the parents dwelling on the condemnation under which the race lay; but the son installed as his representative is named Sheth (שֵׁת), "settled" or "established." This designation is very remarkable, seeing that experience had plainly evinced that all was ABEL or vanity (Eccles. i. 1), the elder no less than the younger brother. Cain, so much relied on, proved an instrument of the enemy; and Abel passed away as the firstfruits of the deadly conflict; yet the mother's confidence is undiminished, nay, faith is more triumphant than before: "God hath appointed me another seed." Every word is here strongly emphatic, and points most distinctly to the first promise. God had said to the tempter, "I will place (or establish אָשַׁתֵּן) enmity," &c.; and accordingly the pointed reference in Eve's language on this occasion to the great efficient Cause, ELOHIM the Creator and Upholder of all, the unalterable disposition on which depended the controversy, and the instrument through which in the hand of God it should be maintained and decided, אֱלֹהִים שָׂדֵה לִי—"Elohim has established for me another seed." And so, although the conflict threatened to be protracted, and had already drawn into its ranks parties of whose participation in the strife the original prophecy gave but obscure intimation, the believing mind reposed with confidence on God, who raised up "another seed instead of Abel" (אֲחֵרִי הָבֵהּ), a representation of him who had fallen, necessary on that very account—כִּי הָרַגְתִּי אֹתוֹ, "because Cain slew him."

It may, in conclusion, be added, that as with the birth of Cain a new social relation originated, and one which by the parental offices and affections which it called into exercise served in a manner to link the mind to earth and things present, so through the death of Abel an idea entered in fitted to associate man with the relations and realities of the unseen world, and accordingly to enlarge faith and future anticipations. This cruel severance of the closest of earthly ties did indeed cast a darker shadow than anything hitherto experienced on the *allotted* path of toil, by verifying its accompanying sentence, "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." It showed how pitiable was the end of all the "labour which a man taketh under the sun," or which his fallen condition has imposed upon him; but it must also have shown that there was some good beyond, else equally pitiable was the end of a religion where faith and hope must have been a delusion, as also the foundation on which they rested. How the early death of Abel, the recognised friend of God, affected the doctrine of a future state and its concomitant retributions, can, however, be more advantageously considered in connexion with the translation of Enoch, and so need not be entered upon here. Enough, however, has been said to show that Christianity, though not, as sceptics of a former age were wont for their own sinister purposes to allege, "as old as the creation," yet is certainly, in its leading principles of faith and practice, nearly coeval with the Fall, and thus to establish the harmony and mutual dependence of the two parts of Divine revelation—the earlier and the later, and find therein an unanswerable argument for the truth of both.

NATIONAL EDUCATION  
IN THE  
UNITED STATES AND CANADA,  
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE SETTLEMENT OF  
THE QUESTION IN THIS COUNTRY.

BY THE  
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# NATIONAL EDUCATION

IN THE

## UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

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GUYOT remarks, that the American continent is distinguished by greater simplicity of form than the continent of Europe. Europe is much more varied in the outline of its coasts, in the elevation of its mountain ridges, in the sweep of its plateaus and plains. A similar analogy holds good as to the social aspects of the Old and New World, with the difference, that whereas these contrasts of physical structure have proved the best elements of material development—in moral and spiritual things, the nations of Europe have often suffered from the complexity of its social organism, and the want of harmony among its several members. Our social habits have grown around the traditions of bygone centuries ; different classes have sprung up, whose interests frequently clash—and hence within the same area there are sharply-marked antipathies arising from long-continued social inequality. This historical circumstance complicates all our social questions to an extent which does not exist in a country in which all are comparatively on a level, and which is still rejoicing in the freshness and dew of its youth. Every comparison between the Old and New World is unfair, which does not admit this distinction as a first principle. The people of the States or of Canada have no more right to blame this generation for the existence of many wide-spread social evils in Europe, than we have to blame them for not having a country as well cleared of superfluous timber as Mid-Lothian or Kent. Former generations are indeed accountable for much of the ignorance and vice and unbelief that prevail ; and yet, these are the materials which our Christian philanthropists have to work with, and to mould

into shape. However, from the rapid growth of Transatlantic cities, and the transference by emigration of so much of the baser elements of European society from us to them, the period is approaching when the same social problems will require solution in both continents on more equal terms. In the Five Points of New York, we have an exhibition of the barbarism and brutality of St. Giles or the Seven Dials ; still, even at the very worst, there are mitigating circumstances in every new country, arising from its vast capabilities of supplying food and work to all classes. Meanwhile, we have much to learn from the experience of America with its dash and freedom of action, its rejection of old institutions and standards, its spring of moral enterprise, its eagerness to possess the land—above all, with its power to leaven its population with Christian influences, before it has fairly outgrown or trampled on the means of grace. We pray that America may be wise to know the day of its visitation !

Under this belief, we proceed to discuss the question of National Education in the United States and Canada, in so far as its general principles are concerned. Our limits compel us to omit very many details. Yet we hope to be able to show, that both the States and Canada have been setting a most honourable example to older countries, which, *mutatis mutandis*, they would do well to follow. Our information is drawn, to some extent, from personal knowledge ; but far more from the ordinary sources of intelligence in the educational publications of both countries.

I. We begin with the UNITED STATES. The time of the Pilgrim Fathers settling in America was that in which the seeds of the nation's true life were sown. The annals of the States have no period of myth and fable ; we stand at once on the solid platform of history. No nation need wish a nobler starting-point than that indicated by the voyage of the Mayflower in 1620—freighted as it was, like an ark, with the destinies of a new world. Few spots are more worth visiting as hallowed ground, than the "burying hill" of the Pilgrims in Plymouth. It commands a noble view of the ocean they crossed in the dead of winter, and is still marked on its south-east side with the traces of their first fort. There they kept watch against the Indians,

—within its timber walls they worshipped the God of their fathers, and beside it their ashes now repose. We can afford to smile at the picture which some imaginative European orators have given of the *rock* on which the Pilgrims stepped ashore—as if it had been a wave-beaten headland like Cape Wrath, whereas it is only a boulder, a few feet in diameter—“itself an older pilgrim than those who landed on it”—one half being now sacredly enclosed within a railing in the centre of the town, and the other half lying ignobly in the middle of the road to an insignificant wharf, and within a few feet of a merchant’s store. People of all shades of opinion revere the Pilgrims, although many in New England have as little sympathy with their religious convictions as the Rationalists of Germany have with those of Luther. One main reason of this reverence, apart from the fact of their being the historical founders of New England, is to be found in the enlightened views they took of public questions, such as Education. They stated, before leaving Holland, that they were desirous to secure the right education of their children in the land of their adoption ; and we find, that twenty years after the date of their first charter, the colony of Massachusetts Bay made provision for the support of schools at the public expense. By law they secured instruction in reading and writing in every town containing fifty families, and they supported a grammar-school to prepare young men for the university, in every town containing a hundred families. In addition to this, the magistrates were empowered to take children from the custody of those parents and masters who, “after admonition, were still negligent of their duty,” and to bind them out to those who would train them aright. In 1647, a law was passed, making the support of schools compulsory, and education universal and free. Like our own Knox, they planted the Church and the school side by side. Can we wonder, that Hume, and Macaulay, and Carlyle, the representatives of different schools of history, should each have paid his homage to the Puritans ; or that modern Americans, whilst so eagerly forecasting the future, should still rejoice in the pedigree of those noble God-fearing men ? The seedling planted by the hands of the first pilgrims, has long since grown up into a great tree, under whose shadow other pilgrims from all lands now find shelter and rest.



We must come down, however, at once to recent times. How have the people of the United States settled the question of National Education ?

1. They have no difficulty as to its being the duty of the State to provide the means of education for the people. In general they do not sympathize with the idea, that in doing so, the State is going beyond its sphere, and committing a suicidal act. Surely every government is bound to see to it, that its subjects understand the terms of the relationship subsisting between it and them. Although the idea of an express social compact like that advocated by Rousseau, is a mere fiction ; still, in a higher sense, there ought to be such a thing practically. It is not the point from which barbarous society starts, but the basis on which Christian society rests, and the goal to which it tends. If the duties of rulers and ruled are ill understood, many crimes must be committed which are sins of ignorance ; the right arm of government is withered ; the moral idea of law perishes, both as to the obligation of commanded duties, and the enforcement of threatened penalties. Those who know not the letters of the alphabet can almost as little understand the laws that are to be obeyed, as a man who stands below the electric telegraph can interpret the message travelling along its wires, to which he has no key. In fact, in the exact proportion in which we improve the apparatus of public legislation, do we condemn ourselves for making no way of intercourse between the will of the nation as expressed in its laws, and the understanding or conscience of the vast body of the people. And if, admitting this, it be still contended that private enterprise can supply the want better than any system of State legislation can, we maintain the vast superiority of the latter method for reasons such as these :—(1.) Because the resources of a government contain a practical guarantee as to the whole ground being occupied, and the means of education made really commensurate with the wants of the community. Is it not a matter of fact, that private enterprise has far too often cultivated the rich pasture fields, and left the uplands and poorer soils untouched ? (2.) Because a government has easier means of bringing a higher style of education to poorer localities than private enterprise has. It can also introduce details which, from the want of resources, private

enterprise can seldom attempt; as by furnishing schools with the best maps, diagrams, models, &c. In Wirtemberg, according to Dr. Stow, most of the school-houses have a bathing-place, a garden, and a mechanic's shop attached to them, to promote the cleanliness and health of the children, and to aid in mechanical and agricultural instruction. (3.) Because a regular gradation of schools can be established, securing a more systematic and continuous course of instruction from the alphabet to the threshold of the University. In other words, we advocate a national system as the preferable one, in respect to the quantity, the quality, and the order of the instruction to be provided. Examples illustrative of our meaning will be given in the sequel.

2. The tendency of the United States system is to provide free schools for all classes of the community, by a public assessment. There are indeed many cases in different States in which the schools are not free, but the undoubted tendency is to make them as free as the public park or the public well. Here again, the republican element comes in, making as little distinction between rich and poor in the benches of the Common School, as in the one-class carriages of their railways. They argue, with much reason, that this juxtaposition of opposite classes calls forth their mutual sympathies, preventing the exclusiveness and pride of the rich, as well as the jealousy and scorn of the poor. Daniel Webster on one occasion told a rich friend, that his son would receive permanent good by being educated along with an Irish peasant-boy; and on another occasion, he showed his determination to uphold the system, by saying, that if he had as many sons as old Priam, he would send them all to the Common School. Now, it may be quite true, that the principle of free schools would not, in present circumstances, succeed in this country. It would take more than one generation to separate them from the idea of public charities like an almshouse. It would in one class of cases be hard to convince some parents of the value of schools which cost them nothing, and in another, where advantage was taken of them, the sense of honourable independence might be sapped or overthrown. Still, in the States there are two considerations, which tell mightily in favour of the free system as in the main best *for them*;—first, because the parent pays for the education of his children in the shape

of the public education tax; and secondly, because he regards the education of his children as a right to be claimed, and not as a boon to be conferred. It is a preparation for citizenship, rather than an enterprise of philanthropy. Hence the idea of patriotism attaching to these schools completely supplants our Scottish idea of pauperism. The State looks on every child as destined to have his place in the Republic, and grudges no cost in training him to play his part well. With us, on the other hand, the prominent element in education is the discharge of a duty to the members of a family, as such. A parent, it may be, stints himself in many comforts, and makes many a sacrifice without a grudge, in order that they may receive a good education—the blessing next to a good example. But, notwithstanding all this, he seldom thinks of his sons being thereby better able to implement the old Roman maxim, “*ne quid detrimenti respublica capiat*.” Unless in the case of the great families of the land, whose members for generations have filled the different offices of State, the political element in education is little taken into account. We live in the family, whilst the people of the States live more in society, and for it.

But there is another consideration which tells more in favour of public education than a thousand arguments, namely, the fact of universal suffrage. Dr. Hodge of Princeton lays it down as an axiom, that universal suffrage and universal education condition each other. The man who would ask the State to surrender its function of educating the people would no more be listened to, than if he asked the inhabitants of New Orleans to break down the embankments which keep the waters of the Mississippi within their natural channel, and save their city from an overflowing flood. If there be solid truth in the general speculations of De Tocqueville, as to democracy becoming the phase and law of modern society, and if this democratic spirit is fostered in the States by the popular institutions amidst which men live, then we cannot wonder at their anxiety to direct aright those fierce and fiery elements, which would otherwise bring the country to ruin and shame. The instinct of self-preservation co-operates with a lofty and honourable patriotism. The dangerous classes in Britain have no share in the work of legislation—in the States they are active members of the com-

monwealth. Here they shout at the hustings, but do not vote at the polls—there they do both. Our danger is more remote, though it would be a sad issue, if this made us less alive to their best interests than we would otherwise be. This would be to reverse the parable of the good Samaritan.

Whatever be the precise influences at work, we cannot think without sincere admiration of the zeal and enthusiasm which the people of the States have long shown on the subject of education. With regard to the Empire State of New York, we find that in 1854, a tax of about 800,000 dollars was levied for the support of free schools, in addition to which there was a school-fund of more than 5,400,000 dollars—so that the whole annual amount applicable to the support of free schools was 1,100,000 dollars. In 1853, the sum expended for education in the city of New York was, in British money, about £125,000. The Report for 1853, as to Boston, begins thus:—

“The city of Boston appropriates yearly about 300,000 dollars for the support of public schools. It has invested in school-houses about 1,500,000 dollars. The whole amount raised yearly by taxation for all its expenses, is about 1,200,000 dollars. Subtracting from this amount the 300,000 dollars appropriated to educational purposes, it leaves about 870,000 dollars to meet all the other expenses of the city. . . . Our school-houses are built at great expense. Those who have had charge of their erection have thought only how they could combine convenience, comfort, healthfulness, and attractiveness. The furniture, the philosophical apparatus, the globes and maps, are all of the most approved kind, and nothing is asked of the government, which is really conducive to the welfare of the schools, which is not readily granted. More than one quarter of the whole tax of the city is appropriated to schools. The population of Boston in 1852-53, was nearly 150,000, and if the amount appropriated to schools was raised *per capita*, the portion of every man, woman, and child, would be about two dollars. The average number of pupils is not far from 23,000. The yearly cost of educating each child is therefore about 15 dollars.”

We have made earnest personal inquiry on the point of taxation in many cities of the Union, from New York to St. Louis, and have found that there was less reluctance to pay the education tax than almost any other. In several instances there had been a temporary opposition to the scheme, which again led to

a more energetic support of it. Those who would fain enjoy the blessings of society, without discharging its obligations, have repeatedly been defeated; so that the Common Schools may now be fairly reckoned among the most fixed and most popular of the institutions of the States. We select two special cases to show the provision which is made for different sections of the community, both taken from the city of New York. In addition to the regular day schools, there are *Evening Schools*, for the benefit of those whose education in early life has been neglected. These are attended by a motley group of working men, apprentices, household servants, even men with grey hairs, who, after the labour of the day, devote their spare evening hours to instruction. The schools we speak of were begun in 1848, and in 1853 were attended by 9313. Very many of the pupils are the strangers within their gates, who, whatever their fatherland may have been, soon come to see that every American citizen ought to some extent to be a scholar—and that in the eye of the State, ignorance is next to crime. In addition to the ordinary means of instruction, much is done to give working men right views of the claims and responsibilities of labour, and thus to prevent the acts of estrangement between masters and men, which sometimes prove one or other or both to be as ignorant of the first principles of morality as of political economy. Such is the enthusiasm created by these schools, that certificates of attainment are granted on examination, which often serve as the best passports to places of trust, and are as much prized by the workmen, as our soldiers prize the Victoria Cross. The other example is the *Free Academy*, at which all the pupils of the Common Schools can receive a liberal education free of charge. This institution is a noble college-like building, at which the studies of the pupils of all classes are conducted by a staff of about fourteen professors, with several tutors, at an annual charge to the city of about 20,000 dollars. The educationists of New York point to the Free Academy with pride, as the keystone of the arch. The only qualification requisite for entrance, is the passing a strict examination, and thus it supplies a good example of the principle of gradation in schools formerly referred to. Unfortunately the openings for intelligent youths are so many in the States, that it is by no means so well attended

as might be expected. Its numbers range between 300 and 400, when three times that number might be reaping the benefit of full and scholarlike preparation for any University in the Old or New World. Were such institutions more common, we would not hear so many complaints as we have lately done about the defective grounding of many of the young men who enter the junior classes of our Scottish seats of learning.

3. This brings us to the religious aspect of the question. The United States' system of education practically leaves all matters as to the religious teaching of the schools in the hands of the Trustees; and as they are elected by the popular voice, it is thus a reflex of the popular will. There is no scheme of tests, and no connexion of the schools with any particular Church. In fact, a national establishment of religion in the States being a simple impossibility, it is equally impossible to apply this principle to the religious teaching of the Common Schools. The result of all this is, that in some schools there may be much *bona fide* religious teaching, in others it may be a mere form, and in others there may be the entire absence of it. In general terms, the leading features of the system may be thus stated:—(1.) That the teaching recognises the principles of the Christian religion and morality. (2.) That no encouragement should be given to sectarian teaching. (3.) That the full teaching of religion should be left to the efforts of parents, and the religious instruction supplied by the several Churches to which the pupils belong. Each of these general principles has called forth its special class of objections. As to the first, Latitudinarians have sought to divest the scheme of any semblance of Christian teaching, and to make it thoroughly secular. As to the second, Roman Catholics have sought to expel the Bible, on the ground that the use of it countenanced sectarianism. As to the third, several Protestant churches have objected that the teaching is already too exclusively secular, and that it needs a far larger infusion of Christianity to make it really religious teaching. Let us notice these three objections in succession.

(1.) Although the United States' schools generally teach *Christian* morality, we are quite aware that some would prefer to put it thus—that they teach sound morality, or thus, that they teach children their duties to their Maker and their fellow-men.

Sometimes the opposition to anything Christian has been strongly exhibited in America. One of the most memorable examples of Secularism is that given by the famous Girard College of Philadelphia. Girard was born at Bordeaux in 1750. He became a merchant mariner, and was remarkable for his knowledge of navigation, as well as his shrewdness in turning to account his trading voyages between France and the West Indies. He had a benevolent and self-denying nature ; so that when the plague visited Philadelphia in 1793, and the grass grew on the streets, he undertook the charge of the hospital, and with his own hands did much of the drudgery connected with it. He died in 1831, having amassed an immense fortune, and bequeathed a large portion of it to build a college of as solid marble as the cathedral of Milan. Like so many of his Roman Catholic countrymen he was ignorant of the gospel, or had a deep-seated enmity to it. The following clause in his will reads almost as if it had been dictated by Voltaire :—

“ No ecclesiastical minister, of any sect whatsoever, shall ever hold or exercise any station or duty whatever in said college ; nor shall any such person ever be admitted, even as a visitor, within the premises appropriated to the purposes of the said college. In making this restriction, I desire to keep the tender minds of the orphans from the excitement which clashing doctrines and sectarian controversies are so apt to produce. My desire is, that the teachers should take pains to instil into the minds of the scholars the purest morality, so that on their entrance into active life they may from inclination and habit evince benevolence towards their fellow-creatures, and a love of truth, sobriety, and industry, adopting at the same time such religious tenets as their matured reason may enable them to prefer.”

An attempt was made in 1844 to break the will, on the ground that an institution of this kind was opposed to the Christian laws of the American Government. This failed—Judge Story declared the competency of such an arrangement being made by private parties ; but we are happy to say that solid religious instruction is now given to the orphan children attending the college, and also that no formidable difficulty exists as to the admission of clergymen within its walls—the officials often conniving at the breach of this regulation. Now, although the Girard College is a private institution like many of the

hospitals about Edinburgh or London, still we have purposely referred to it, because the same principles have been occasionally advocated by some of the officials connected with the administration of the Common Schools. Dr. Cheever quotes part of an address delivered by Mr. Benedict, President of the Board of Education of New York in 1853 :—

“ Shall we insist that secular learning cannot be well taught unless it is mixed with sacred ? Shall algebra and geometry be always interspersed with religion ? Instead of *quod erat demonstrandum*, shall we say *Selah* and *Amen* ? Shall we bow at the sign *plus* ? Can we not learn the multiplication-table without saying grace over it ? So of religious instruction, will it be improved by a mixture of profane learning ? Shall the child be taught to mix his spelling lessons with his prayers, and his table-book with his catechism ? . . . The reading of the Bible, the repeating of the Lord's Prayer, the Apostle's Creed, the Ten Commandments in school, is ritualistic and not educational. It is not for improvement in secular learning, nor in sacred learning,” &c.

All such statements are liable to these two cardinal objections. First, Whilst they proceed on the assumption that schools should teach the highest morality, they make this impossible by disconnecting it from the fountain-head of all morality in Christ. The morality taught can no longer be that of the Sermon on the Mount, and the twelfth chapter of the Romans. It must be the morality of heathenism, or the morality of modern civilisation, or of those schools of moral philosophy which have tried to construct an ethical code, irrespective of the great facts of sin and redemption. It could have little in common with that of Rugby, where Dr. Arnold sought to impregnate its lessons, its discipline, its associations, its play-hours, its week-days and Sabbath-days, with the humility and holiness and love of the gospel. What a very poor caricature it is to ask, whether we are to bow at the sign *plus*, as if this was an example of religious teaching, or as if it was the teaching of anything ! It would be more to the purpose to be told, how a moralist of the school of Girard and Benedict would meet the case of a lad found telling a lie in the mathematical class. The style and substance of a teacher's reprimand would certainly not consist in asking him to bow at the sign *plus*, but in reminding him that there was such a thing as



moral as well as mathematical truth ; and that he had to do not with bare algebraic formulæ, or cold material laws, but with a God of truth and holiness, who would judge all men according to their works. Or, if one boy had suffered a wrong from another, whether would it be better to read him a sentimental lecture on the poetry of forgiveness, or to remind him at once of the grand example of all forgiveness in the death of God's Son ? What are all heathen acts of forgiveness when compared with this one fact in primitive Church History, that there is not one word of retaliation in all the monuments of the Church of the Catacombs ? In a word, the higher the demands made for the "purest morality," the less can such a system meet the demand. There is no middle ground between that of teaching Christian morality in connexion with the facts, the doctrines, the promises, the threatenings of the Christian dispensation, and teaching a morality which might be Christian in name, but which wanted the Divine impulse and breath from which all moral actions must flow. It is by no means necessary to thrust forward all the details of Christianity into every class and every exercise. But it is necessary to make it the supreme and reigning influence of the school-room,—the source of a teacher's motives and aims and hopes. So far, therefore, from regarding Bible lessons as *ritualistic*, they ought to be *educational* in the highest sense, as to the formation of character and the training of youth for their duties in time and their destinies in eternity. The question is not, whether the truths of our religion are to form the subject-matter of separate class instruction, as with arithmetic or geography, but whether the motto of a school in its lessons and its whole moral life is to be, that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. How poor and vapid do the commonplaces of human morality appear in comparison with the grandeur and spirituality of God's words, either as printed on the boards of a class-room, or as carved on the tombstones of a churchyard ! Who would ever compare a decent copy-line for a writing-class like this, "Emulate virtuous actions," or this, "Maintain moral habits,"<sup>1</sup> with such texts as these, "Thou, God, seest me,"—"How can I do this great wickedness and sin against God ?" Secondly, An equal difficulty applies to the supposi-

<sup>1</sup> See Lewis's *America*, p. 273.

tion, that religion can be better taught at a later period of life, under the influence of what Girard calls the "matured reason." The answer is, that the heart of the young cannot be kept in equipoise till that supposed time arrives. It argues an utter ignorance of our moral nature to imagine that when youth have been long under the power of temptation of every kind, and the heart has been gradually taking a *set* for evil, it is prepared to listen with less prejudice and greater reverence to the claims of God's truth. Before this could be possible, there must be some way of neutralizing the evil habits that are daily formed and forming by the sympathy of an evil heart with an evil world. Pelagianism, in every form of it, is as untrue morally as theologically. There is no moral neutrality,—no law of moral atomism,—no separation of men's souls individually from the inheritance of evil appertaining to the whole family of man since the fall, and from the contamination that comes from without. We cannot but think, that the vague theology of New England has told upon many of its school theories, just as Hagenbach well shows in his *Kirchen Geschichte des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, that a low style of theology in the Continental churches led to an equally low standard of attainment in the aims of the school. If Pestalozzi had had a more definite creed, with so much that was otherwise noble in his plans, his scholastic influence would have been more healthful. He had good cause to denounce the *Papier-Wissenschaft*, that made the repetition of the words of a catechism the substance of religious teaching—but, unfortunately, he was unable himself to supply the defect. His experience has been occasionally repeated across the Atlantic; and it would be well for Churches to treasure up the lesson taught by the Old and New World, namely, that as the public teaching of a Church is, so in general is the teaching of a school.

(2.) We have next to notice an objection of an opposite kind to the Common Schools—namely, that by the use of the Bible they become sectarian schools, and thereby violate their own rule, that no sectarian teaching was to be allowed. This objection has been advanced of recent years by the Church of Rome, and has found supporters among men of latitudinarian views in religion generally. The laws which prohibited sectarian teaching in New York were passed in 1842 and 1843; and it was under

cover of these that the attack on the Bible was made. In some cases the Bible was strenuously retained, while in others, teachers lost their situations for using it. One instance is given, in which the order to discontinue the use of the Bible was conveyed to the teacher in the following select terms:—"Sir By a *unanimous* vote of the trustees Last Meeting all *secterian* Books is *Requisted to Bee* Removed from the School as it is *thaught* the *Bibl* one it is *requisted to Bee* Removed." It was not at once seen what was the secret influence at work in producing these changes, and concession after concession was made. Many obnoxious passages in the school-books were obliterated, and an ugly black stamp, not unlike a fly-blister, disfigured the page; in other cases, asterisks were used; and in others, the particular page was cancelled, and a new stereotype plate ordered to be cast. The spirit of the *Index Expurgatorius* was at full work. The Romish party became proportionally bold, until their boldness was their ruin. The Protestant and patriotic spirit of America was fairly roused, and the result was that the Romish Church received a blow from which it will not soon recover. Against the opinion that the Bible was a sectarian book, it was contended, in the noble language of Judge Story, that the Bible was "the common inheritance of Christendom and the world." An Atheist might call the assertion of the being of a God sectarianism—a Jew, the belief in our Lord's divinity—a Rationalist, his resurrection from the dead. There must, therefore, be something positive assumed, otherwise our only alternative is the denial of everything supernatural and eternal. Even admitting the existence of imperfection and error to some extent in the matter of translation, it is monstrous to brand with the name of sectarianism that blessed book which is the wellspring and treasury of all truth. The Bible is not sectarianism; it is the enemy of it, and the antidote to it. The spirit of sectarianism vanishes whenever men breathe, as on a mountain-top, the pure atmosphere of God's Word. The whole discussion led the people of the States to study the terms of their political constitution afresh. When Roman Catholics said that they were denied their rights in a country which promised equal rights to all, the reply was obvious, that the American constitution was in its basis Christian and Protestant, and that the Bible was the

corner-stone of the whole fabric. Perhaps there were not wanting some who defended the use of the Bible, not so much because it was a Divine book, as because it was an American book, to which Congress had set its seal. Still, making all allowance for the admixture of political with religious motives, we heartily sympathize with the people of the States on finding that the members of the Romish Church, to whom they had granted the rights of citizenship and toleration, should thus have tried to rob them of their national birthright. They pondered over the Christiansayings of their great men from Washington to Webster; they willingly confessed how much their nation owed to Christianity; they prided themselves by referring to the many ways in which Christianity was declared to be the basis of their constitution and their common law, as by the vow exacted from officers of the State, by the appointment of days of national humiliation and thanksgiving, by the statutes as to Sabbath observance, &c. Colwell, in his treatise on the *Position of Christianity in the United States*, quotes the words which occur in the constitutions of the several States, and which with singular unanimity contain the express recognition of God. He remarks, that as a Christian people, we lay one hand upon the Bible and say, "This is the Testament from which we derive our religion;" and the other upon the Constitution, and say, "This is our social compact, by which we mutually guarantee religious liberty." In fact, the absence of a national establishment has not in the least precluded the government of the States from recognising God in the hundred other ways in which this may and ought to be done. And if so, the inference is plain, that the Bible was entitled to the same place in the Common Schools which it already had in the constitution of the country. The supposed claims of Romanists on constitutional grounds could only have been granted by abrogating the constitution itself.

The real reason, however, for the opposition of the Romish clergy to the common schools, was that given by Archbishop Hughes of New York, when he said that the child who went to the Common Schools "was lost to the Church." We have heard this sentiment corroborated in the public schools of the leading cities from Boston to St. Louis. If so, it ought to modify the utterly exaggerated fears which many British Protestants enter-

tain as to the progress of Popery in the States, when they are told that the public schools are more than a match for the whole army of the priesthood. Notwithstanding the desperate efforts made to keep the children away from them, the parents still send them ; and the frequent result of the altercation between the priest and the parent is, that the whole family leaves the Romish Church for ever. We were told of one case in St. Louis, where an Irishman, when asked how he got on in his argument with the priest, replied, that he kept to his point, and that "if the priest had said another word, he would have *choked* him." Artifices of all kinds, fair and unfair, are resorted to in order that the priest may be hoodwinked. Parents see at a glance, that their children will never be able to compete with the American children, unless they are abreast of them in the matter of education. No one who has not seen it would believe how quickly emigrant children copy the language, the habits, the opinions, of their playmates. The poor child whose home has been a mud-cabin on the edge of a peat-bog speedily acquires the quickness, the self-respect, and general bearing of an American youth. And when he grows up, he finds that instead of being trodden in the dust and half-starved, he has every facility for acquiring all the rights and privileges that belong to the best-born citizen in the land. He avows that he has been deceived as to the true character of Protestantism—he feels that his lot is cast among free institutions and a free people, and he refuses to live and die as a slave. Romanists admit that the Common Schools are the main cause of their losing ten thousand followers every year in the United States.

(3.) Another objection has been taken to the system of common schools by several Protestant Churches, on the ground that these schools are deficient in religious teaching and training ; the result being, that separate denominational schools have, to some extent, been set up. Many well-wishers to the cause of National Education have reluctantly taken this step under the conviction, that full religious instruction cannot be given in the public schools of a country, which contains within itself such heterogeneous elements as America does. The difficulty in the States is at its *maximum*. With regard to the facts of the case, we have already hinted, that opposite results are to be expected

under the working of such a system. Thus, in some parts of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, the Catechism of the Westminster Assembly is used very much as in the schools of Scotland. In the schools of New York city, there are not above one or two where the Bible is not regularly read. In the Central High School of Philadelphia, the following are a few of the questions put on the subject of moral science :—"What are the principal relations existing between man and God? Explain the rights and obligations arising from these relations. What is meant by natural religion? How may we learn our duty from natural religion, or the light of nature? How may we learn our duty from the Scriptures?" In the Free Academy of New York, we find that the following questions were given for examination in 1858 :—"State the causes of the imperfection of conscience. What reason have we to suppose that God would give man some additional light? Has natural religion been sufficient to lead men to virtue and happiness? What are the grounds of our obligation to love God? In what manner is it proper that we should manifest this love? What obligations do our relations to God impose on us?" &c. It would be obviously unfair to characterize as godless, a system which gave scope for such questions; and as a regular chapel is attached to the Free Academy of New York, we are at a loss to know what possible use it could have, unless as the symbol of religious teaching. However, no one ventures to contend, that religion occupies such a place in all or nearly all the schools as it is most desirable that it should. Very many seem to be satisfied with some kind of general recognition of Christianity in the school, and feel, that for the State to attempt much more than secular instruction would be to encounter the opposition of the multitudinous sects in the country, and thereby to imperil the nationality of the scheme. Even where denominational schools have been set up, no systematic opposition has been directed against the Common Schools. All, or almost all, admit them to be a public necessity, and desire their prosperity; at the same time that they acknowledge their religious defects, and try to supply the remedy. Dr. Alexander of New York complains that strangers who visit America, gaze with wonder at their forests of shipping and their emporiums of trade, and often leave unsought and unvisited an object of greater

wonder—their public schools. And yet he adds, “After these willing concessions we are constrained to declare that our State Schools, with all their power and all their State advantages, fail of the object which we hold to be paramount, because they lack the religious element.” It cannot, however, be said, that anything like a formidable rivalry to the Common Schools exists. Dr. M’Keen of New York supplied the writer with the following table, showing how few Protestant denominational schools had been instituted in the city of New York, up to September 1854:—

	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.
Presbyterians, . . .	3	7	235
Dutch Reformed, . .	1	5	100
Episcopalian, . . .	2	6	200
Industrial Schools, .	6	6	721

There were besides these—

Roman Catholic, . .	17	56	5687
Jews, . . . . .	8	31	857

With regard to the right of the Church to undertake the work of teaching, in certain circumstances, this admits of almost as little doubt as the correlative right of the State. There may often be many questions of expediency as to the exact time and way in which the Church may interfere; but she is not violating her Divine functions as Christ’s Church in educating the people, whenever it can be proved that religious instruction is not otherwise supplied. If, from any cause, the State is not in a position to give such instruction; or if the amount of religion in the exercises of a school be the bare reading of a Bible chapter in the morning, the Church is doing her legitimate work when she becomes an educator in the full Christian sense of the term. What she does by her mission schools among the heathen abroad, she may have often to do among the heathen at home; nor is this an extreme or exceptional case, because every year’s experience is drawing closer the bonds of union between the Church’s labours in the Home and Foreign field. The same general principles determine the work to be done, and the way of doing it: the field is the world; the work everywhere is one and the same. When it can be proved that in one given case the Church may educate, the argument as to the incompetency of the Church doing so in other cases is practically at an end.

II. We must now turn to CANADA—omitting many details, as there is a good deal of common ground in the schemes carried out in both countries. Canada is one of the children of Great Britain, who have risen up and called the mother country blessed. No better proof of colonial progress can be given than the efforts Canada has made on behalf of public education, showing, as they do, that whilst she acknowledges the benefits derived from the alliance with the mother country, she has a moral energy of her own, and an earnest desire for the wellbeing of her people.

Annual Parliamentary grants on behalf of education had long been given, without, however, accomplishing much good in a definite way. In 1841, a law was passed embodying the principle of granting money to each county, upon the condition of each county raising an equal amount by local assessment. In 1843, the superintendence of the school system was given to the Rev. Dr. Ryerson of Toronto, of whom it is not saying too much to affirm, that he has done more for education in Canada than Sir J. K. Shuttleworth has done for it in Britain. His first duty was to visit Europe, and to draw up a report on the educational institutions of its different countries. Under the governorship of Lord Elgin in 1850, an Act was passed, which provided for the establishment of schools in cities and incorporated towns, under which Act the present system is administered. Dr. Ryerson says,—“The system of public instruction is engrafted upon the municipal institutions of the country. The municipal council of each township divides such township into school sections of a suitable extent for one school in each, or for both a male and female school. The affairs of each school section are managed by three trustees, these trustees being the legal representatives and guardians of their section in school matters. The inhabitants of each school section decide as to the manner in which they will support their school, according to the engagements made by the trustees, whether by voluntary subscription, by rate-bills on parents sending children to the schools, or by rates on the property of all, according to its assessed value, and opening the school to the children of all without exception. The latter mode is likely to supersede both the others; but its existence and operation depend upon the annual decision of the inhabi-



tants of each school section at a public meeting called for that purpose." The settlement of the religious part of the question is exactly on the principles of the national schools in Ireland. The following are the regulations of the Board:—"1. The public religious exercises of each school shall be a matter of voluntary mutual arrangement between the trustees and the teacher; and it shall be a matter of mutual voluntary arrangement between the teacher and the parent or guardian of each pupil, as to whether he shall hear such pupil recite from the Scriptures or Catechism, or other summary of religious doctrine and duty of the persuasion of such parent or guardian. Such recitations, however, are not to interfere with the regular exercises of the school. 2. But the principles of religion and morality shall be inculcated upon all the pupils of the school. What the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland state as existing in schools under their charge, should characterize the instruction given in each school in Upper Canada, namely, that the importance of religion is constantly impressed on the minds of children, through works calculated to promote good principles, and to fill the heart with love to religion, but which are so compiled as not to clash with the doctrines of any particular class of Christians." This general compromise is come to on the ground of its being difficult to the last degree for a government, not despotic, to deal under one system with the religious opinions of Protestant and Romish Churches, as the experience of Ireland proves. Still, there is considerably more of direct religious teaching in Canada than in the States, partly because the recognition of religion is more complete, and partly because, under certain restrictions, separate denominational schools are permitted to Protestants as well as to Roman Catholics. As a general rule in Upper Canada, religious instruction is given in the school-houses by the clergy of different persuasions, at stated hours, so as in no case to interfere with the ordinary exercises of the school. At the same time, both in the States and Canada, great stress is laid on the teaching of Sabbath-schools, &c., as the true means of supplying the religious deficiencies of public instruction by the State.

The following are some of the leading points of difference, in other respects, between the systems of Canada and the States:—

1. The Canadian system, speaking generally, is an *eclectic* one. Dr. Ryerson states in his report now before us, (1.) That the machinery or law part of the State of New York was the best. (2.) That the principle of supporting schools in Massachusetts was the best, namely, according to property, and opening them to all without distinction. (3.) That the elementary text-books of the Irish National Board were the best. (4.) That the system of normal-school training in Germany was the best. The Canadians have shown much practical wisdom in founding their system on the results and experiences of other countries, rather than in devising a complete system of their own, which might have the merit of novelty and a want of every other merit whatever.

2. The administration of the system in Canada has greater *unity* than in the States. The weak point of the States' system is its changeableness, arising from the incessant political changes in the country. New plans are frequently introduced ; there is a constant stream of new school-books ; officials are shifted before they have gained much experience. One result of this may be to enlist the sympathies of a larger class on behalf of education, and much may be gained by the variety of these educational experiments. Still, such gains are more than compensated by the want of concentration of purpose on the one grand end of systematic and progressive training. In this as in many other respects, Canada has the decided advantage over the States as to regularity of system, orderly administration, and conformity to law. As a result of this, we may state, that the children of Canada are at school during a greater part of the year than those in New York. The same thing appears in the system of public libraries, which has been engrafted on the public schools. The most distant and obscure township in Canada receives from the head-office in Toronto, a supply of well-selected books at a reduced rate, on condition of a certain proportion of the expense being raised on the spot. This is also done in some of the States, but the selection of books is by no means so good ; nay, often the most useless or pernicious books are circulated, because of the want of a system of due control. The backwoodsman of Canada can now enliven his long winter nights by reading ; and thus, when outdoor labour is suspended, and the earth covered with its mantle of snow, his mind may be under culture, and

himself prepared for all the higher duties of citizenship. The public schools teach the art of reading, the public libraries foster the habit of reading, which multitudes among us can never be said to have acquired, simply from want of access to such like stores of knowledge. 3. With regard to the teachers, the *Normal-school training* of Canada is superior (we believe) to anything in the States. This is an admission which we have often heard educationists in the States make; and certainly no one can visit the magnificent buildings of the Normal School in Toronto, without feeling proud of the country that has done so much for its schoolmasters. The institution can accommodate two hundred teachers in training, and six hundred pupils in the model school; in addition to which, full provision is made for carrying out all the details of a complete educational scheme. "The land on which the buildings stand consists of nearly eight acres, two of which are devoted to a botanical garden, three to agricultural experiments, and the remainder to the buildings of the institution, and grounds for the gymnastic exercises of students and pupils." In respect of normal training, the State of Massachusetts is far in advance of all the others, even including New York. Meanwhile Upper Canada, by the full equipment of its Normal School, has started from the point which it will take New York many years to reach. The demand for qualified teachers from this Normal School is far greater than the supply, and the influence of the methods adopted in it is felt over the whole province. The result is, that a higher standard of qualification is expected on the part of the teachers, and a much better provision is made as to all school arrangements, enabling him to copy the principles and details of the great central school. Many of the school-houses are built after the plan of the Normal School, and thus the time may come, when the school-house, instead of being the eyesore, shall be the pride and ornament of the village. 4. We are inclined to think that the teaching in Canada is less *materialistic* than in the States. A stranger who enters a school in the States will not remain long, until he finds the character of the country written on the instruction given to the young. One class is called up, and they are made to answer a host of questions on the geography of America, diverging into details about the constitution of

Congress, the presidency of Polk, the Mexican War, and the Californian gold-fields. The class-songs are often patriotic to the highest degree. Another class is deep in dollars,—an exceeding prominence being given to direct mercantile training. The result, we fear, is, that this encourages the materialistic spirit which is the weakness and the snare of the States, and that it discourages true learning in all its higher departments. In Canada, to the best of our knowledge, greater attention is given to the thorough mastery of the English language, and to the true mental training of the young. We must confess our surprise at having entered schools in the States at all hours of the day, and having so seldom heard that thorough analysis of an English author, which is now so common in all our well-taught schools in Scotland. This may have been in part accidental—we are rather inclined to regard it as in many cases an index to the style and mental discipline of the school. But the evil is a serious one, especially in a country where it is so difficult to restrain the forwardness of youth, and to regard the school as a necessary intermediate step between the family and the world. America has little or no spring—her forests clap their hands, and make a sudden leap from the deadness of winter to the flush and foliage of summer; and so her youth are apt to pass at once into the full-blown activities of manhood, regardless of the need of severe mental training at school, and also of a still severer moral training by subjection to parents, and reverence for the law of God. This is *the* point on which the whole education of the country should turn.

We have had repeated occasion to refer to the prominence given to the functions of the *Sabbath-schools*, as one great means of supplying the deficiencies admitted to exist as to the religious teaching of the week-day schools both in the States and in Canada. Let us briefly notice the working of Sabbath-schools in the States, where the organization is singularly complete. We are less familiar with them in Canada. In the States, the Sabbath-school system is conducted under a union of evangelical churches, and is an excellent example of co-operation in the common work of the Lord. This Union was formed in 1824, since which period its operations have steadily grown with the growth of the country. Seven States, with an area of 787,000

square miles, have been added to the map of the Republic during this quarter of a century, and the population has risen from ten millions to twenty-five millions. During the last six years, 12,000 new Sabbath-schools have been started, containing about 78,000 teachers, and nearly 500,000 children. As the working of these schools in the cities and settled districts is much the same as among ourselves, we prefer to advert to the missionary efforts made by the Union. The peculiarity of the American continent is, that from its vastness it has practically a foreign field within its home field. From about the year 1830, the eyes of the "Sunday-School Union" were directed to that immense territory to the west, which is now the favourite seat of emigration. Modern Christianity has no nobler enterprise than the evangelization of western America. From the sparseness of the population it is impossible to organize churches in sufficient numbers, and the spiritual wants of the people are often supplied by the staff of missionaries sent forth by the Union to organize Sabbath-schools. They are the spiritual pioneers of the wilderness, preparing the way of the Lord, and making His paths straight. Their mode of operation is quite apostolic in its simplicity and self-denial. The missionary traverses his district, and fixes on a spot where he deems it desirable to organize a Sabbath-school. He calls on those who may be most likely to further his undertaking; he addresses meetings on the necessity of religious instruction; he tries to awaken the people out of their spiritual sleep; he makes them feel that as immortal beings they have common wants and sympathies; he seeks to bind the straggling settlers together by the cords of love. Most formidable obstacles lie in his way, for many of the inhabitants have come from lands where the Sabbath is disregarded; others have removed from the Atlantic seaboard, and sunk down into the deepest worldliness and unconcern. Perhaps he finds some one who is willing to assist him, and thus by degrees the Sabbath-school is organized, often proving itself to be the nursery of the future church. After a while the missionary sets out for some new locality, and it may be, he has to follow the trail of the Indian, or to travel by the compass or the sun. He faces privations as great as those often endured among the heathen; he must often join the habits of the pioneer or the trapper to the labours of the

evangelist ; he announces his object by large cards stuck on the trees, covered with Scripture texts, and perhaps illustrated by some picture to interest the children—and the result is, that the wilderness which had hitherto only echoed to the sound of the woodman's axe, becomes vocal with psalms to Christ. It is difficult to exaggerate the good done by these schools, in sowing the seeds of Divine truth in the soil of what must be one day a vast empire. Churches on this side of the Atlantic have much to learn as to the agencies employed in this work. For example, in 1853, addresses were delivered in the colleges of several of the evangelical denominations, which had the effect of leading 214 young men to devote their summer months to the organizing of these schools. Many who engaged in it have stated, that they found it an admirable preparation for the work of the ministry—by bringing them into contact with different classes of men ; by giving them a knowledge of the world ; by making them see the practical aim of all their studies and scholarship ; and by interesting them in after years in the religious welfare of the young. We must add, that in the States, ministers of the highest mark regard the whole work of the Sabbath-school as of much more importance than ministers of a similar class generally do at home ; for even granting that the deficiencies in week-day instruction compel the American clergy to give greater prominence to the Sabbath-school than we may require to do, still, no excuse can be given for Churches sometimes giving so little countenance and direction to thousands of self-denying and zealous teachers. The time has fully come, when the Sabbath-school should be recognised as part of the regular machinery of the Church, as much as societies for the conversion of the heathen.

Whilst, however, we bear our willing testimony to the labours of the "American Sunday-School Union," we are not prepared to admit the general position laid down by American educationists—namely, that the religious instruction thus given is a full substitute for the meagreness of it during the week. Our reasons are these two—first, that the lessons taught on the Lord's Day may be neutralized by the corrupting influences of the other six days, for it is gross exaggeration to suppose, that an hour or two of religious teaching in a week is enough to give the

lessons of the Bible their due place in the soul of a child, or to preserve him amidst the tides of evil that are sweeping past in his daily life; and secondly, it is by no means proved that nearly all the scholars of the week-day school are in attendance at any Sabbath-school. Mr. Bishop of Boston furnished the writer with a document giving the aggregate of twenty schools in Boston, from which it appeared that the number of pupils was 10,462, of whom 10,187 received religious instruction in Sabbath-schools during some part of the year; 201 had received it in former years, and 67 received it at home. Now, this is certainly a very high average, although we cannot say what the fair result might be if these figures were analyzed, and the exact meaning of the answers ascertained. However, Mr. Tremenhoe, in his "Notes," gives many examples from which a directly opposite conclusion may be drawn—namely, that those who ought to be at Sabbath-schools and were not, amounted to 10, 18, 33, and in one case, to 50 per cent. of those who were attending week-day schools. In New York the total number of children who passed through the schools in the course of a year had been 107,000, and the total number of scholars attending the Sabbath-schools irregularly was about 60,000. Nor is it any reply to argue with Dr. Ryerson, that in such cases Churches and parents are to blame, because the problem is to see that the young are brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. The question comes back with redoubled force, Who is to care for those for whom no one cares? And our only answer lies in the admission that the duty of instructing the young devolves primarily on parents, then on States and Churches; so that, in the event of one or other of these failing to discharge their duty, the others must do a kinsman's part.

Both in the States and in Canada there is a vast section of country, where the cause of public education languishes—we refer to the Slave States and to the Lower Province. Slavery and Popery are, in different ways, the enemies of public education. A slaveholder is afraid lest his slaves become able to read and write, and thus be led to devise means to shake off their yoke. The prohibition as to slaves being taught to read operates fatally against all educational zeal even as to the lower orders of the whites, and hence the marked contrast in this as in other

things between the North and the South. The population of Massachusetts was at last census 994,504, of whom only 1861 native-born adults were unable to read. The population of Louisiana was 255,491 whites, of whom 21,221 natives were not able to read. In New York, with a white population of 3,048,325, 30,670 could not read; in Virginia, with a population less than one-half greater, 77,005 whites could not read. This one fact is decisive as proving that a system of slavery is more fraught with evil to the whites than to the blacks: it represses the energies and weakens the conscience of a people: it pollutes all the streams of its moral life. Slavery and Popery are compelled to use substantially the same argument—namely, the dangers of knowledge as leading to the opposition of lawful authority either in the State or the Church. All the ordinary arguments which are used in Naples or Vienna in defence of the measures employed against the liberty of the subject or the press, are daily used at second-hand in the Slave States as to the social dangers attending an educated slave population. In the Upper Province of Canada, the Roman Catholics have taken alarm at the public school system, substantially for the same reason as in the States; and in the Lower Province, the *animus* of the Romish Church is shown in the low state of education among the body of the people. The traveller who passes from the Northern to the Southern States is speedily sensible of the same difference as in passing from the Upper to the Lower Province of Canada. What an exuberance of material and moral life in the one; and in the other, what feebleness of purpose, or even what signs of decrepitude and decay! We arrive at the same result by comparing the career of New England with that of Mexico or Peru. History, with all its cross-lights, has not a more striking contrast. The Pilgrim Fathers landed in the depths of winter on an inhospitable shore, which with infinite toil they had to reclaim. The hosts of Cortez and Pizarro were equipped in the panoply of war, and invaded a country rich in its soil, its climate, its gold and silver mines. The Pope pretended to draw a line from pole to pole a hundred leagues westward of the Azores, as the boundary between the possessions of the Spaniards and the Portuguese. They came on new races of men, on cities with glittering palaces and temples of fantastic architecture—



they found boxes full of pearls, and wheels made of massive gold. Popery copied the example of Mohammedanism, and laid these fair kingdoms waste with fire and sword. In the north, the Puritans and their descendants passed through the furnace of calamity, in which their character for self-denial and hope in God and energy of purpose was formed. But now, whilst Mexico seems to have inherited the curse of ancient Egypt, and to have become one of the basest of kingdoms, the Protestantism of New England has given birth to a people, who with Great Britain are the twin witnesses of the Christian faith, and with whose fortunes are bound up the spiritual hopes of the world. Sir Charles Lyell, who has little sympathy with the theology of Puritanism, remarks, "Had the Puritan fathers landed on the banks of the Plata, how many hundreds of large steamers would ere this have been plying the Panama and Uruguay—how many railway trains flying over the Pampas—how many large schools and universities flourishing in Paraguay!"

We must now draw to a close, by noticing one or two of the lessons taught us by the experience of the New World.

1. Let Great Britain more fully and clearly recognise the broad principle which lies at the foundation of the education systems of the United States and Canada, namely, that the common property of the country should be taxed for the general education of the people. We purposely waive all discussion as to the financial details of any such scheme, as this is a secondary matter. Whilst honouring conscientious objectors, we can hold no argument with those politicians—the dregs of their class—who would object to an education tax, as they would object to any tax whatever, whether its object was good, bad, or indifferent. May our legislature be preserved from the breath of those men, who, for the sake of a little popularity, would as stoutly resist a tax which provided means for the right development of the national mind and soul, as a tax which went to carry on an iniquitous war, or to pension off some disreputable members of the aristocracy! We must keep in view the great social results aimed at, as justifying the means used to reach them. Men hold their property not independently of, but in closest connection with the laws and institutions of their country. That pro-

erty is secured by law,—it is defended by police,—it is transmitted from father to son—and should it be injured by the excesses of a revolutionary mob, the country pays the damage. If so, the possessor owes certain duties to the whole community, and society would be disorganized, unless the legislature could say what burdens he is to bear as his contribution to the common cause. He may have his own children well educated, as they are well clad ; still, if there are other children around him who are perishing for lack of knowledge, and if they cannot be trained aright to the duties of citizenship without the preliminary lessons of the school-room, he is bound to help the State by his means, by his example, by his sympathies. We honour America with its 80,000 public schools, and its 90,000 teachers, and its three and a quarter millions of scholars. We honour Canada, which three years ago expended for school purposes £224,818, and which could point to its 3325 schools, and its 227,864 scholars. We honour Germany, which did not abridge its educational efforts even during the sore grief of 1812, when high-born ladies flung their gold ornaments into the public treasury, receiving in exchange a piece of iron, and-satisfied with the patriotic motto inscribed on it, *Ich gab Gold um Eisen*—which can show streets quieter than any in Europe during school-hours, yet which swarm with children whenever the bell for dismissal rings—which can point to a gigantic army, almost every member of which can read and write—which has its thirty periodicals devoted expressly to education, a number increased every Leipsic fair—and which, amidst all the upheavings of 1848, made one solitary request about the public schools, namely, that they should thereafter be free. Nor do we feel much difficulty in principle, as to the compulsory attendance of scholars, however inexpedient, for other reasons, it might be to reduce it to general practice. If the State can lawfully levy a tax in support of schools, it is on the same grounds justified in bringing under tuition all those who would otherwise grow up in ignorance. It would be almost a contradiction in terms, to organize the practical apparatus of a school, without being able to secure the attendance of scholars. This duty needs not to be exercised in cases where children are already educated, because the State must recognise the Divine ordinance of the family, as the basis

on which itself rests, and out of whose aggregated parts itself is made up. Still, it is otherwise with those children whom no parent trains, and for whom no parent prays. They are like deserted vessels on the high seas, which any one may board. No right is infringed by taking possession of them, nay, a good act is done, by saving them from being tossed hither and thither without compass and crew, by steering them safely to harbour, and by refitting them for after service. The principle of compulsory teaching has already been recognised negatively in the Factory Act, which prohibits the employment of children who have not been for a certain time at school; and it is only a single step from this to a positive recognition of it, like that made in the city of Boston, by the appointment of a class of officers (*truant-officers*, as they are called), whose express duty it is to cross-question every vagrant child, and send it to school. Our past history, as a free nation, may raise many difficulties in the application of this principle—the principle itself is good.

2. Then, with regard to the religious part of the question, we by no means contend that we in Scotland should copy, in detail, the example of the States or of Canada. We have no desire to claim for these Transatlantic systems a more religious character than fairly belongs to them. But it would be unjust, did we not keep in view the exceeding variety of elements in the population (for example) of the States, and the absolute necessity of *Americanizing* them. The problem of the States must ever consist in detaching the horde of strangers who come to their shores from the habits and traditions of their several countries, and attaching them as speedily as possible to their adopted country. All admit that the Common Schools have completely succeeded in doing this. We cannot tell what the character of the future American race may be as the composite of all these several elements. No people is so many-sided. Although the history of America is but of yesterday, many of its citizens claim kindred with all the grandest events in the history of Europe, and their hearts beat at the mention of the names of Luther, or Coligny, or Cromwell, or Knox. Doubtless, God has some mighty purpose to serve, by a people which contains within its bosom the precious seeds of past centuries, and which must become, in a historical sense, the father of many nations. Mean-

while, the balance must be held between the contending claims of these several lands, and the allegiance due to that land which offers them food and work—schools and Churches—a home and a grave. And if it be found impossible to communicate much more of religious instruction than is already done, the difficulty arises from the unique experience of the States, as the land which has to fuse all nationalities into one, and then to stamp on them its own political image. But no such difficulty applies to Scotland ; in fact, if the population of the States is the most heterogeneous, that of Scotland is the most homogeneous in its past history, and its present religious beliefs. We have often heard American educationists say, that if they had to legislate for a country like ours, their system would recognise religion in a far more definite way. Is it not, then, a discreditable fact to us, that up to this hour we have not been able to agree on any scheme which should secure the full education of the people in secular and sacred things ? United as our country is, a system of this kind would unite it far more, and make its voice to be heard on many public questions, on which it now gives an uncertain sound. A scheme in which all, or almost all, could co-operate without dishonour would be a rallying-point for the sympathies and the energies of Scotland—a nucleus around which our common patriotism and faith might gather and crystallize. People out of Scotland have often great difficulty in understanding our ecclesiastical history. They do not know, how deeply rooted these opinions and events are in the soil of the past—they forget the analogy of a nation's religious life—they speak as if we gloried in an infinite divisibility of sects, which yet were agreed on the essentials of the faith. This is sometimes said in ignorance, sometimes in scorn. We willingly grant that Scotland has in former generations magnified certain minutiae of ecclesiastical order, and stood too much aloof from the movements of Christendom. Yet this is all the stronger reason for our proving now, on the ground of common education, that our nation is still substantially one, and that its heart beats with the pulsations of a healthful and catholic Christianity as the religion of the people. Possibly we may be driven to accept a secular system, not from choice, but from despair of a better. Even in this case we will never join with those who call secular

knowledge worse than none, as if the ability to read the Bible were no boon, or rather were a curse in disguise. Protestants sometimes unconsciously employ the arguments which have been the defence of the Church of Rome for the thick darkness with which as with a swaddling-band she has covered many nations. At all events, this alternative of leaving religious instruction to be supplied by other means, would be infinitely preferable to the substitution of any kind of moral teaching independent of the gospel. Scotland never can listen to a morality half-Christian and half-heathen—the Mosaic and Pauline theology can never be sweated down to the meagre religion of the *Constitution of Man*, or the science of the *Vestiges of Creation*. On this score there can be no compromise whatever. The morality of our schools must be that embodied in the lessons and the life of Jesus of Nazareth. When Kepler was studying the problem of the heavens, his hair was fast becoming grey, before he found out that the ellipse was the only mathematical figure which coincided completely with the orbits of the planets. Some figures coincided at one point, but were as divergent at others. Christ's life as truly represents the only exact line of coincidence between God's law and man's history. The orbit in which His soul moved touches at every point the requirements of love to God and love to man; and true morality is only possible by the soul travelling along the pathway of His life, and, by His guidance, circling round the throne of that Jehovah, who is the author of all law to angels and men. Any other morality than this is a mockery and a lie. May it never be proclaimed in the schools and pulpits of Scotland!

3. Last of all, we plead for a system of national education, because it would tend to raise the whole social platform, and thus be a mighty auxiliary to the Church of Christ. The education of the people is undoubtedly a blessed end in itself; but it is also a means to far higher ends. It is no question of indifference, whether our schools are to be any better than Turkish schools, the teaching of which consists in the monotonous chant of the Koran, or whether they are to be as experimental farms, in which the seeds of character are sown along with the seeds of knowledge. Foster speaks of it as a deplorable thing, that the mass of a nation should feel so little real pity for its ignorant

class, especially as "the dark void of ignorance, instead of being a mere negation, becomes filled with agents of perversion and destruction, as sometimes gloomy apartments of a deserted mansion have become a den of robbers and murderers." Hence every Christian enterprise is dwarfed and crippled by the want of the bare elements of instruction. A child enters a Sabbath-school, but instead of being at once able to understand the Bible proofs of God's love, he must first be taught to put together the letters and words of that text, *God is love*. A Bible Society conceives the grand idea of giving a copy of the Scriptures to every family in the globe; but, alas! at home there are tens of thousands to whom it is a sealed book—a frozen fountain—a dark vision. A minister preaches to a rural congregation, and he often mourns because their mental and spiritual nature is so little stirred and quickened. The light of the glorious gospel can indeed enter a soul as dull as that of Poor Joseph, and we thank God for it; still, God works by ordinary laws in grace as in nature, and the people whose intelligence is low can scarcely ever be expected to exhibit a piety at once humble and energetic, fed by simple faith in Christ, and at the same time able to serve Christ with knowledge and zeal. If unsanctified intelligence is Satan's great instrument of evil, the intelligence that is sanctified is the true means of neutralizing that evil, and of developing what is holy, and good, and true. It is mere folly to mourn over the ruins of unbelief and godlessness among the people, unless, like Nehemiah among the ruins of Jerusalem, we arise and build. We rejoice to think of the Church realizing her duty to the lowest of the people, and in all that she does we must ever give the first place, as God does, to the preaching of the Cross. At the same time we admit with Luther, that next to preaching, the office of a teacher is the greatest, best, and most useful vocation. There is a certain depth of ignorance and vice which the sun-light of Divine truth scarcely ever reaches, as there is a certain depth in the ocean beyond which the sun's rays never pierce, and where the blackness of darkness reigns. The work of the Church is accordingly helped by every educational agency which prepares the minds and souls of men for contact with Divine things, and delivers them from "the lowest instincts and impulses of animal life." The barest modicum of

intelligence is surely more hopeful for every Christian purpose than the grossness and brutality in which multitudes live and die.

Nor is it any reply to this, to argue that additional schools will not of themselves materially improve our case. We grant at once that schools may be built and endowed, and, as is true of some New York schools, remain half empty. There must be attached to them, especially to those for the depraved classes, a system of co-operation on the part of our Christian people. The living must be brought into fellowship with the dead. Christian men and women must make the acquaintance of those who are ready to perish—they must visit their dwellings, although they are as cheerless as a prison-house or a plague-ship—they must know the details of their history, and do them many a kind turn without hope of recompense—they must uphold them in temptation, and relieve them in poverty, and cheer them in sickness. Above all, they must tell them of Him, whose love expelled the evil spirits from the breast of the demoniac among the tombs, and drew forth tears of penitence from the eyes of the dying thief, and songs of praise from his blaspheming lips. Let this be done, and there will be found a ready response to the interest felt in the children of our most desolate dwellings. In many cases, when a parent has lost every shred of self-respect and self-control, he feels for his children, and from his own experience of the misery of sin, he would heartily join in a prayer that God Almighty would bless the lads. Hyder Ali, during the stormiest period of the war in the Carnatic, supported an institution for the guardianship of orphans, and resolved that they should never be deserted in his dominions. Swartz regarded this as the one bright spot in his dark soul ; and the unexpected sight of these children carried his thoughts back to the orphan-house of Francke in Halle, where he had been appointed to teach and to pray. Can we doubt that a similar result would often be witnessed among the heathen at home—this one spark of parental love living among the cold ashes of the soul's corruption and decay ? If so, we never can admit that the establishment of public schools is fatal to the Christian philanthropy of private parties. In Canada, it has been completely proved that the organization provided by the State has created, instead of quench-

ing, much individual co-operation. The people regard the scheme as one so popular in its elements, that they are mainly responsible for the right working of it. A spirit of social thoughtfulness and energy has been developed, which has reacted in a most healthful way on the Board of Administration. Surely it would be a slur on the character of those who are now doing so much to make the gospel meet the wants of society, if they suspended all Christian effort, merely because the State extended the basis of its operations. We therefore earnestly pray, that by means like these the work of raising our social economy may advance. As in the raised terraces of our sea-beach, the geologist can point to margins of land lifted up and rescued from the sea, so that the song of the reaper is now heard on fields where the sea once surged and fell, in like manner might we then be able to point to the sight of the lower strata of society raised out of their own depths, and reclaimed like fruitful fields unto God and His Christ. Otherwise, as there are also local depressions whereby the domain of the sea has been enlarged, and much vegetable life and beauty destroyed, so must we sink socially to a lower depth, and see that margin of our population ever and anon engulfed in the swelling tide of ignorance and sin.



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BOHEMIAN REFORMERS AND GERMAN  
POLITICIANS:

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF PROTESTANTISM.

BY THE

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" Dum singuli pugnant universi vincuntur."

TACITUS.

" O Luthere, quam paucos tuæ præstantiæ *imitatores*, quam multos  
vero sanctæ tuæ jactantiæ *simias* reliquisti!"

CALVINUS.

## BOHEMIAN REFORMERS AND GERMAN POLITICIANS.

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HISTORY, after the fall of the Roman empire, recounts three periods: that of Authority, that of Inquiry, and that of Liberty. Of these, each (that has gone by) closed with a great war, and was characterized by some great reality that manifested its presence, by corresponding effects, in the political, intellectual, and religious life of the world. The age of authority, with its feudalism, scholasticism, and Popery, closed with the Crusades; the age of inquiry with its king and state craft (its separate national life), its exhaustive study and lore, and its Reformation, closed with the French Revolution. The third age is yet running, and from the liberty of nations evolves that of individuals; from the liberty of thought and inquiry, practical progress and social wellbeing; from its liberty of worship—in opposition to narrow-minded, scholastic dogmatism—the great reality of Christian Union. If this third age embraces and combines the lasting results of its predecessors, it is not too much to assert, that in some respects the age of the Reformation is the most important, not only as being the period when the scaffolding was to be taken down, and the great edifice, so long building, to be displayed, but as that which in germ contained, and which prepared all that is developing in this the last age.

The Reformation was born in Britain, but cradled and nursed in Bohemia. In no other country of Europe has religion been more closely intertwined with political history. When the Bohemian nation emerged from its semi-barbarous state, it immediately appeared as the centre and focus of the reformatory movement;

when in the battle of the "White Mountain" (19th October 1610), their religious convictions, and with them their civil rights, were trampled under foot, the Czechs disappeared from the catalogue of nations. Henceforth Bohemia is not a country but a province; interesting to the traveller, and to the observer of material progress, but nowise important to him who, in history, studies national life, not continued material existence. Again, as the beginning of Bohemian history was the commencement of that Reformation, which changed the aspect of the old world, so its close became the first act in the great drama of the Thirty Years' War. The curse of a dying nation fell on all concerned in its murder. The political power of Austria and of Rome, now first put to the test, was broken; the lasting disorganization and weakness of Germany were the results of the policy of her infatuated rulers, during the Bohemian rising; the Rationalism of Europe was the consequence of that Protestant scholasticism which froze every feeling of generous sympathy—perhaps the isolation of Britain, also, may in part be traced to the folly, the vacillation, and the selfishness which characterized the conduct of James I. during these transactions.

The royal title of the ruler of Bohemia dates from a very remote period, and was bestowed in reward for good services by the Roman Emperor (as the sovereigns of Germany were styled), in the exercise of the supreme authority which these monarchs claimed over Christendom.<sup>1</sup> In the German College of Electors, the King of Bohemia ranked first, and in the State-ceremonial discharged the office of Arch-Cupbearer.<sup>2</sup> But though his nominal rank was great, within his own domains his power was very limited. Bohemia was an *elective* monarchy, and besides the influence which this right conferred on the Estates, the Diet alone could enact laws, impose taxes, order levies, or ratify royal mandates. The kind of feudalism existing in the country gave special rights to the aristocracy. The lord of the manor claimed exclusive jurisdiction over all his subjects—to tolerate or expel, to protect or persecute. The three Estates, lords, knights, and clergy, or after the Hussite movement, lords, knights, and cities,

<sup>1</sup> See these Decrees in Goldastus' *De Juribus Bohemice*, p. 23, &c.

<sup>2</sup> See also a translation of *The Golden Bull* of the Emperor Charles IV., in the App. to vol. xxx. of *The Modern Part of an Univ. Hist.*, p. 431, &c.

might impose laws, but over their observance the lords of the manor had to watch. It will readily be understood, that if this arrangement afforded great facilities for the introduction of the Reformation, since it might gain a footing, if even one lord favoured it, it was also liable to considerable dangers, as the holy cause might easily become secularized in the hands of an imperious or factious oligarchy.

The Bohemians first appear prominently in the family of nations, during the reign of Charles iv. (1346-1378), the first of their sovereigns who wore the imperial diadem. Whatever blame may attach to his German administration, his own country was most deeply indebted to him. Among the acts of his reign, we attach special merit to the foundation of the University of Prague. Many privileges were granted to that seat of learning, which, with Paris and Oxford, soon divided the honours of literature and science. In those days, when the life of a student was more migratory, and the profession of letters more honourable and profitable than now, a lively intercourse existed between the great halls of learning, and the lecture-rooms were crowded with students of all nations. A perhaps somewhat exaggerated report fixes the number of graduates in Prague (about the year 1408) at 200, that of under-graduates at 500, and that of students at 30,000.<sup>1</sup> Not only professors, but all graduates ruled the University, and might give prelections. Amid this noble emulation, the interests of science and of free thought were promoted. On account of the diversity of nations crowding the lecture-rooms of Prague, the members of the University were arranged into four nations:—the Bohemian, the Polish, the Bavarian, and the Saxon. But unlike the practice in other seats of learning, the Bohemian, as the other nations, had only one vote, a circumstance probably due to the comparative paucity of native students, and to the desire of attracting studious or learned foreigners.

It must also have been some motive of this kind which induced Charles to invite to Prague one of the most celebrated preachers of his age, the Austrian *Conrad of Waldhausen*. With him begins the series of Reformers. The question, what constitutes the element of power in the pulpit? is interesting in

<sup>1</sup> Böhlinger, *Die Kirche Christi*, vol. ii. 4th div. 2d sect. p. 110.

its historical as well as in its general aspect. If we are allowed to answer it in the light of Bohemian history, we cannot hesitate to find it, next to Christian reality, in adaptation of truth to the felt wants of the people. But preaching like this requires principle and conviction; it also requires independence and fearlessness. The wants of the people are expressed in their feelings, by their sins, their difficulties, and their ignorance. To hold to the age the gospel-mirror, was a work vastly different from the quackeries and the nostrums which the priesthood generally vended in the shape of religion. Sunk in vice and corruption, contemptible for their ignorance, unbearable for their pride and arrogance, the clergy of Rome had degenerated into machines for saying mass, into figures for passing in processions, into relic-mongers and indulgence-traffickers. Talent had lost itself in mere casuistry; in the garb of scholasticism, learning sat crowned with the fool's cap of sophistry and pedantry. The country was covered with swarms of begging-orders, whose worthlessness generally kept proportion with their importunity, and whose pretensions to sanctity were only outdone by their gross dissoluteness. The pulpit, if ever tenanted by monk or priest, resounded with absurd legends, or gross recommendations of the wares which mother Church kept for sale. The gospel of the Lord was hid—the volume in obscure corners of musty libraries; the reality perhaps in a few wandering outcasts, or in solitary mourners. Religion's self, where still it existed, was in danger of shrivelling into the morbid selfishness of an ascetic mysticism, instead of expanding and stretching out its arms to embrace the nations of the earth. Luxury and vice of every kind had spread through the laity, who in the morn mumbled with the clergy responses in the church, and at night blasphemies or lewdness over the cup. The bonds of family-relationship, rent asunder by priestcraft, were tied again by vice. Amid the general mental and moral decrepitude, the last remaining hope of society, religious inquiry, threatened to decay. What then could a man like Conrad of Waldhausen, who, as he said, would not be charged with the blood of souls, proclaim but loud and solemn warning to clergy and laity? That decaying building must be swept down before the fair edifice of the Church could rise; men must be warned, the mask must be torn from priestly

religion, and the hideous skeleton beneath shown ; the people must learn "to love the deeds, not the dead bodies of saints," and that "sanctity makes the saint, not the saint sanctity." Strange teaching this of fundamental truth, which neither Prague nor Bohemia had ever heard before, enforced, too, with the tremendous earnestness of one who believed that "the last time" had come. Conrad had something to say in that vast "Teyn-church" of Prague—some reality, some burning conviction, some practical truth which shall come home, if not to the hearts, yet to the consciences of all his hearers. Day after day an eager multitude hangs on the lips of the preacher—the churches of the monks are deserted, and a deep impression is made on that mass of vice and ignorance all around. Despite intrigues and machinations, the priests cannot stifle his voice ; he, his successor, and his successor's successor, shall testify till one come on whom "those hungry birds of prey"—the monks—shall feed.

Every reformatory movement has two aspects : the one negative, in opposition to prevailing error ; the other positive, in the explanation of some truth, or in the enforcement of some duty. Every reformatory movement, also, is apt to degenerate into mere negation, which is but a *no-thing* ; unless, indeed, from the first a deep positive reality have underlain the opposition to error, and some great object have been steadily kept in view. Teacher and taught can readily understand and reprobate error, even when either or both of them are unable to perceive truth. In the Bohemian Reformation a deep moral earnestness underlay the opposition to Rome. Not the doctrines, but the religious life of the age was, in the first place at least, the ground of attack. To the utter want of spiritual reality, Conrad had opposed his own deep convictions of what clergy and laity should be. This moral element was also steadily followed out by his successors, and became the distinctive characteristic of the whole movement,—at the same time the source of its strength, and the ground of its weakness. Hitherto the gospel had only been preached in German, but now the same truths shall be poured forth in the language of the people. *Milic*, by birth a Moravian, had passed through many contests before he was prepared for his work. In younger days he had attempted to combine reli-



gious earnestness with love of the world. But the force of conviction would not let him continue in that path. With characteristic enthusiasm, he throws up all his appointments, and retires into solitude, to find the peace and strength which he had vainly sought in the busy walks of life. But here also he cannot rest; and after an interval of only half a year, he appears in Prague to preach to that "untoward generation" in the spirit and strain of Conrad. There was singular power and energy about that man. A ready memory supplied stores of learning; an enthusiasm which knew not weariness, enabled him to preach daily, sometimes five sermons, in Bohemian, in German, and in Latin; a mind wholly engrossed with spiritual realities, gave body to massive thought; a glowing imagination clothed these thoughts in language equally telling and eloquent. The general corruption of Church and people, from crowned emperor or mitred prelate, to humble burgher or shaven monk, was the burden of his complaint; the necessity of thorough reformation, the object of his addresses. Not the Church of Rome generally, but the Papal system as existing before him, would he have swept away. Confident in the sincerity of his intentions, and strong in the reality of his convictions, he would have the Pope himself head the new movement. For this purpose he goes to Rome. There, on the Church of St. Peter, he affixes the startling announcement, that he is to preach on the subject which had so long engrossed his mind and heart: "*Antichrist is already come!*" An inconvenient text this when handled by a Milic,—a text which had tormented the priests in Bohemia, and against which they had forewarned the Fathers of the Inquisition. The preacher is silenced by imprisonment, and can only deliver his message to the clergy. Whether the Curia had gathered that the reformation of Milic was not doctrinal but practical, or whether he was indebted to the good offices of some who had learned to respect if they would not believe him, or whether in that solitude he had understood that his work was in Bohemia, not at Rome, certain it is that his captivity was not of long duration. On his return to Prague, he applied himself with yet greater zeal to parochial labour. What the effect of his preaching must have been, we infer not from the circumstance that his sermons were attended by all classes (even by Jews), but from the

results which they produced. In a short time—a district of ill fame—"little Venice" is deserted, and the church of "little Jerusalem" rises on the scenes of former dissipations. A monastic reformatory, where strictest discipline is exercised, receives the outcasts. Hundreds of young priests are trained under his direction, and the fruits of his labours become manifest in the altered moral tone, and in the apparent earnestness of the community. All the ordinances of religion must contribute to deepen and to strengthen the Christian convictions of his audience. If he daily preaches and performs mass, they must daily communicate, that so they may ever carry with them both the body of the Lord, and a memorial of their own high and holy calling. This daily communion, so much disliked by the priests, becomes henceforth the watchword of the Bohemian Reformation. Viewing religion rather from the aspect of sanctification than from that of justification, this ordinance appears to them the great means of grace and of personal holiness. On this ground they press it on the faithful; till, when the positive aspect of the movement again gives place to the negative, communion *sub utraque*<sup>1</sup> becomes to the Hussite the symbol which daily communion had been to Hus himself and to his predecessors.

To give shape and stability to a cause, it is necessary that it formulate itself under certain well-defined propositions. Effective as the living word is for rousing the masses, it takes wings and flies away; nay, it is apt to carry speaker and hearers in its flight. In this respect, also, the old adage holds true, "the written word remaineth." Such a scribe, "instructed for the kingdom of God," was Matthias of Janow, the descendant of a noble Bohemian family. Providence and grace had fitted him for the task of becoming the exponent of the new movement. A liberal education was followed by thorough training in the school of grace. His opposition to Rome was the result of personal experience of the truth. When he became "poor and contrite, and learned to tremble at the Word of God and to admire His truth," he also "began to wonder at the depths of Satan, who, as in thick darkness, held the eyes of all, even of

<sup>1</sup> The expression implies that *both* elements, the cup as well as the bread, are given to the laity.

those who deemed themselves wise." This discovery was followed by deep peace and joy in believing, feelings which "continued and increased the more he rose in prayer to God and to the Crucified One." From these fundamental principles of his inner history the character of his writings can readily be inferred. In the most important of his tractates, *The Rules of the Old and New Testament*, the positive as well as the negative aspect of the Reformation is brought out. His predecessor had already doubted the absolute supremacy of the Pope; for how could such a pontiff be the head of the Church? Matthias now distinguished between the Church of the Elect and that of Antichrist. Of the former, all believers were members, and "Christ the sole Head;" of the latter, "every carnal Christian was a member"—the more carnal and the more highly-placed in the Church, the nearer to the head of Antichrist. "If such a person occupy the highest place in the Church, . . . he is Antichrist in the highest place." Again, the moral element here appears. Carnality, not the assumption of office and power, is the characteristic of Antichrist. Looking around, he discovered in the Church of his days "the height and the depth of Satan" in the assumption of the garb of piety and of likeness to Christ. "This was the abomination of desolation in the holy place." In opposition to such will-worship Janow appeals to the Scriptures as the only basis of faith and of life, and to the crucified Saviour as the ground of justification. Here, then, a proper foundation has at last been laid. Instead of the Papal system we have the Bible; instead of the Pope, Christ; instead of the Church of Antichrist, that of the Elect; instead of human inventions, simple faith. Daily communion is still the symbol of the party.<sup>1</sup> "Other foundation can no man lay." The Synod of Prague (1388) may, under the reign of the indolent Wenceslaus, the wretched son and successor of Charles, condemn the new "heresy" of the Eucharist, and pass ordinances anent image-worship. They have not known and cannot touch the deeper springs of the movement, and soon one is to appear who, combining in himself the activity of Conrad, of Milic, and of Janow, will lead it to its goal.

<sup>1</sup> Böhlinger (*ut supra*, pp. 96, 97) inclines to the opinion that Janow had advocated communion *sub utraque*, but of this there is as yet not sufficient evidence.

There is a strange and touching similarity between the history of Luther and that of Hus ; perhaps, however, rather an outward than an inward likeness, even as the German Reformation proceeded chiefly on objective, the Bohemian on subjective grounds. Like Luther, Hus (born 3d July 1369) was a man of the people ; like the German, the Bohemian had enjoyed the advantages of a liberal education ; like him, he was zealous in the attainment of work-righteousness, and would give his last "groschen" to purchase "indulgence ;" like him, he was moved by solemn convictions when he obtained the degree in Divinity. Jerome of Prague was the Melancthon of Hus ; as Luther in Worms, Hus must appear at Constance. Nay, the analogy may be carried farther, and we might venture to assert that if Hus had not been burnt in Constance, Luther would not have escaped from Worms.

It must never be forgotten that a healthy reformation can only proceed gradually and step by step. If a movement is to be true and lasting, it must progress and carry along the convictions of those who share in it. The goal is not reached at a bound ; on his weary ascent up the mountain, the traveller only gains the full prospect when he has climbed the last and crowning height. Neither the German nor the Bohemian reformation was completed at once. In both cases, the progress of truth kept pace with the development of Papal error. Hus, however, had the additional advantage of the teaching of Wycliffe, whose writings were brought to Prague by wandering scholars, and whose influence made itself more felt from the increased intercourse between Bohemia and England, consequent on the marriage of "Good Queen Ann" (sister of Wenceslaus) with Richard II. The Professor of Prague would neither wholly adopt nor entirely reject the propositions of Wycliffe. He would discriminate, and retain what, in his opinion, tallied with the Bible ; the rest he would consign to the test of Gamaliel. In its fundamental tendency the English movement was the same as the Bohemian, nor could Hus refuse the tribute of respectful affection to Wycliffe. To the last, he continued to say that he wished his own soul in the same place which the decision of a Righteous Judge had awarded to that of the British reformer. Otherwise thought the majority of his colleagues in the Univer-

sity. The Germans were conservative, attached to the Church of Rome, and (in philosophy) Nominalists—the vast majority of the Bohemians, liberal, reformatory, and (in philosophy) Realists. In the conflicts which now ensued, the Germans, who commanded a majority of nations, carried the vote. Forty-five articles were extracted from the writings of Wycliffe and formally condemned. Their rejection became the test of orthodoxy; the defence of even part of them the ground of persecution. This state of matters changed when the constitution of the university was altered by the king. From political motives, Wenceslaus had taken part with the cardinals in the great Papal schism. The Papal faction, headed in Bohemia by the Archbishop of Prague, and by the Germans in the University, espoused the cause of the Pope; Hus and the Bohemians were naturally averse to him. Under these circumstances, Wenceslaus gave the Bohemian nation (in the University) *three* votes, and to all foreigners only *one*. However this arrangement answered the rule established in other seats of learning, the Germans saw in it the deathblow of their power, and the end of their prospects of advancement. They left Prague *en masse*,<sup>1</sup> and from that hour became personal as well as doctrinal antagonists of Hus, to whom, though unjustly, they ascribed this new measure. The triumphant Bohemians replied to their threats by installing Hus as Rector of the University.

The Bohemian reformer had now reached the pinnacle of his power. Besides the influence he wielded in the school of learning, he occupied a pulpit in Prague, and could thus indoctrinate the people with the truths for which he had contended with the Germans. The church of 'Bethlehem' had been built, and endowed for the special purpose of giving the people an opportunity of hearing the gospel in their own tongue. That Hus preached there the doctrines of his predecessors, and explained the great questions of the day, needs not special mention. That by his teaching and his influence he excited the enmity and the envy of the priesthood, will also be understood. In truth he commanded a noble audience. Burghers, scholars, and nobles crowded that building. The pious Queen Sophia herself attended on his ministrations, and had chosen Hus her

<sup>1</sup> The lowest computation makes their number 5000. Böhlinger, *ut supra*, p. 152.

confessor. Hitherto the worldly Archbishop of Prague, impressed by the earnestness of the Reformer, had not interfered. He had even selected him to preach Synodal sermons—tremendous gospel-philippics, which divided the joints and marrow, and caused the priesthood to gnash with their teeth. But now the prelate and the Reformer were arrayed on different sides. The moment was favourable, and (in 1409) a regular accusation was lodged against the defender of Wycliffe-doctrine, the impugner of papal authority, and the religious innovator. The archbishop was not prepared at once to condemn Hus; as yet the two authorities had not come into direct antagonism. He did what was wiser; he interdicted all preaching in chapels (which of course included Bethlehem Chapel), and despite the protest of University, people, and even of the indolent king, condemned the teaching of Wycliffe, and burned all heretical volumes (about 200) on which he could lay hand. As might have been anticipated, Hus was not the man to succumb. The interdict appeared to him little less than godless assumption; the burning of Wycliffe's writings, which contained so much precious truth, equally the indication of ignorant wrath and antichristian presumption. Already he had appealed to the See of Rome; the papal confirmation of the episcopal proceedings only sounded like a new call to follow in the wake of his predecessors, whose almost prophetic declarations were now palpably verified. In Prague, these bulls excited no small indignation. At last, then, the two powers were fairly engaged. Wenceslaus was content to stand by, and witness the issue. Despite episcopal excommunication and papal confirmations—despite papal summons to Bologna and ban, Hus continued to preach and to teach—his sermons and his lectures a running commentary on the priestly procedure. The schism in Bohemia had reached its high-point, and every attempt at composition seemed to have failed, when the death of the archbishop, and the succession of a weak man to the see of Prague, promised peace. Vain hope! The anti-papal teaching of Hus had kept pace with the antichristian measures of the Pontiff; and he could no longer hold his peace, even where Bohemia was not directly concerned. Had the Papacy been strong and united, it seems likely that Hus would have been much sooner silenced. But the papal schism which divided

the Christian world, and the worthlessness of those who, excommunicating each other, severally claimed to be "Vicar of Christ," not only paralysed the arm of Rome, but filled every thinking person with abhorrence, and convinced all of the necessity of comprehensive reforms. At the time of which we write, John xxiii. had launched his fiercest bolts against Ladislaus, King of Naples, who supported the claims of Gregory xii. A crusade was preached, and all who shared in or contributed to the holy undertaking, were assured of plenary indulgence. Against the blasphemy implied in the principle of such indulgences, and against the iniquitous application of it in the present case, Hus felt bound to raise a solemn protest. Above the din of the indulgence-venders slowly, but surely, rose the surge of popular indignation. It is lashed into the roaring of a storm when three youths, who have publicly interrupted the services of papal emissaries, are executed. The voice of the king was not strong enough to bid these angry waves be still; their tossing threatened his very throne. But now the storm is followed by darkness and blackness in the heavens. A papal interdict hangs like a heavy cloud over Prague itself. Every church is shut; the tolling of bells no longer summons the worshipper to matins or vespers; no longer is the Eucharist dispensed to the faithful, or carried to the dying; infants are not baptized, marriages are not solemnized, in silence the dead are carried to their resting-place. Until Hus have removed from the city shall this death-stillness reign. With a heavy heart the Reformer withdraws. A synod meets indeed at Prague (in February 1413), but it cannot settle this question, and Hus will never again open his lips in Bethlehem Chapel. If former attempts at pacification had failed, much more must the present. It is bootless to compound matters by general statements: the two parties are asunder as heaven and earth. Both will agree to abjure all heresy, and to submit to the Church of Rome. But by heresy Hus means what is contrary to the Word of God—his opponents, what militates against canons and decretals; the submission of Hus is to the Church "of which Christ is the head, and the Pope His Vicar" (and we know under what conditions he would be acknowledged as such), and only "in all matters wherein a faithful and pious Christian is bound to submit, and to obey." The submission of the Papists, on the

other hand, is to the church "of which Pope John xxiii. was the head, and the College of Cardinals the body." The period of the Reformer's retirement was spent in preaching and in writing. About this time he composed the tractate 'on the Church,' of all his works the most important. Let not the reader forget what we have said of the gradualness of a thorough reformation; let him not be turned aside by what of remaining error he discerns; let him take notice of fundamental principles, and leave their development to Him who, in the course of time, matures spiritual blossom into rich, ripe fruit. We have already been made familiar with the leading doctrines of this reformation—it only concerns us now to learn some of its deductions. Hus still believes in transubstantiation, in purgatory, and in the intercession of saints. But side by side with those errors are fundamental truths, incompatible with them—and soon the new wine must burst the old bottles. The Church of Christ is not that shapeless mass over which the Pontiff presides, to which he dispenses absolution and "indulgence," and which he rules according to canons and decretals. The Bride of Jesus is "the totality of the predestinate," consisting of "the Church militant on earth," "the Church sleeping in purgatory," and "the Church triumphant." Between these branches of the one church, a living communion exists, and to it "predestination, which is the preparation both of present grace and future glory," gives admission. In *no* sense is the Pope head of the Church. Examined in the light of history, the See of Rome is neither "Cathedra Petri," "apostolic chair," nor "the Church." "Originally there had been only presbyters and deacons, and the expression bishop referred to the same office as the title presbyter." For centuries the Church had prospered, unruled by pope or cardinal; and even yet "it might perchance be ruled as well, and better, by holy priests." As a matter of convenience, it may be right to have an earthly chief of the Church, and as such will Hus own the Pope, if in life and teaching he really show himself the successor of Peter, and the Vicar of Christ. But examined in the light of absolute truth, the pretensions of the Curia were worse than false—they were blasphemous. How could one be the head of the Church of the elect, of whom it was not even certain whether he was predestinate? How dared man assume the place of God, and



instead of absolving the sinner *ministerially* and *conditionally*, do so authoritatively and absolutely? To forgive sins, was it not equal to giving the Holy Ghost, since both were so intimately connected? Or lastly, could any man claim implicit obedience, since all—a man, his words, and works—must be tested by the standard of the Bible?

With these principles Hus struck into a direction entirely different from that of other teachers. Had the Bohemian only broached *positive* truth, he might have obtained toleration; had he only advocated a reform in "head and members," he would have got sympathy and support. But his principles went much further. Carried to their consequences, they swept away the Church of Rome, and in its place substituted a new building. Such were not the measures which Gerson, the eloquent Chancellor of Paris, would have advocated. His scheme of reform aimed not at the destruction, but at the reparation of the existing fabric. And if, in his dreamy retreat, mourning ascetic had felt the force of Hus' words, his religious training and false humility imposed on him the duty of quiet submission to things as they were, content to hope that himself might testify better, and to mourn or fast for the sins of the Church. In truth, Hus stood alone,—alone in the world as alone at the Council of Constance; yet not alone, for with him was an innumerable cloud of witnesses, and One like unto the Son of man. That at the request of the Emperor Sigismund (brother and presumptive successor of Wenceslaus), Hus should, of his free accord, have consented to appear at the Council of Constance (1st November 1414), indicates that he had either misunderstood his own position, or else that, like Paul, he had felt constrained to go, though bonds or death should await him. For the former supposition, speaks the circumstance that before leaving Bohemia he furnished himself with certificates of his orthodoxy from the archbishop and the Papal inquisitor; and that at the Council he expected the sympathy, if not the aid, of Chancellor Gerson. For the latter supposition, speaks the fact that he only stipulated for a full and free hearing, and that forebodings of his decease evidently filled his mind, but deterred him not from his purpose. Yet there seemed small cause for such anticipations. The Emperor had promised a safe-conduct; nor did Hus travel without the com-

pany of certain Bohemian lords, to whose protection Sigismond had specially intrusted him. Two letters he left at parting. That addressed to his flock is touching from its brevity, its pathos, and its confidence. He comforts his people with the assurance, that God knew how to take care of His cause and of His servants; he admonishes them to constancy, whatever might befall him; he entreats their prayers, that if to suffer he might be kept in the faith, and if to return, he might be restored in the fulness of the gospel of peace. The other letter, addressed to a favourite pupil, is full of tenderest counsel, such as a father in the ministry might address to a beloved son,—a Paul to a Timothy. Like a traveller who, leaving the home of his childhood and youth, from the last turn on the road takes a farewell look, and, with special fondness, recalls objects of childish attachment, or muses over juvenile failings,—small to others, great to him of whose history they form part; so Hus, when parting from Bohemia and his friend. He laments that chess-playing had been so frequent an engagement, and that in the matter of dress he had perhaps not set the example of self-denial. The few simple things he leaves behind he distributes—valuable as his, trifling to others. With almost womanly tenderness of foresight he apportions them, mindful of the likings of his friends. There are hours when it is manly to be unmanly—great to become little; hours, perhaps, in the religious life of those whose profession implies complete separation from the past—an act on which the soul risks its all, to which it devotes its affections, its energies, and inmost being—when a man must look back and reckon with himself,—when he must learn to look death in the face, and shake him familiarly by the hand. In the history of a man whose religion is a reality, nothing is small. His outward and real calmness has been the result of deep inward struggles; his serenity is the certitude of an inward and real victory.

The doom of Hus had been pronounced before he left Prague; not even the much-desired consolation of a full and free hearing was granted. He was simply to retract or to die. In vain he protested his willingness to submit, if convinced out of the Scriptures; the Council of Constance was to decide, not the principles of the Church of Rome, but according to those principles

Sigismond's safe-conduct was so much waste paper ; the Fathers resolved that faith need not be kept with a heretic, and Sigismond was willing to have it so.<sup>1</sup> He shared in the judicial murder of the Bohemian martyr. The protestations of the Czech lords in Constance, and indignant letters from Prague, were equally unavailing. Soon after his arrival, Hus had been cast into an unhealthy dungeon, and cut off from all communication with his friends, except that stealthy intercourse which could be carried on through friendly jailors. But here all the strength of his convictions, all the reality of his hopes appeared. His letters throughout breathe calm confidence, humility, and love. Alone,—alone against a whole council ; in prison ; borne down by pain and disease, by obloquy and reproach, he yielded not to entreaty nor threat. When in view of death he was solemnly unrobed of his priestly garb, he replied to every indignity in the language of faith and of prayer. The flames have consumed his body, the muddy waters of the Rhine have carried away his ashes ; but his spirit has joined the souls under the altar, his faith and teaching have remained to the Church, and his word and work have borne rich and everlasting fruit.

The treacherous and cruel conduct of the council caused in Bohemia the utmost excitement against the Emperor and the clergy. Hitherto letters of remonstrance had been treated with contempt,<sup>2</sup> or answered by measures proposed for the suppression of heresy. Fifty-four nobles now addressed a defiant rebuke to Constance,<sup>3</sup> and entered on an agreement for defending the preaching of the gospel in their country. The Fathers of Constance replied by summoning the subscribers to their bar, by burning Jerome of Prague, and by drawing up twenty-four articles, which only breathed impotent vindictiveness.<sup>4</sup> The result

<sup>1</sup> Sigismond not only allowed, but took part in the condemnation of Hus. Compare the account of his conduct in Böhringer, *ut supra*, p. 447, &c., and especially p. 466.

<sup>2</sup> A report had reached them that their letters had been burned. Comp. Gieseler, *Kirchengesch.* ii. 4, p. 425, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> *The History of the Bohem. Persec.* (1652) mentions *fifty-eight* lords, and incorrectly dates the letter 2d Sept. 1416, instead of 1415. The author of *The Reform. and Anti-Reform. in Bohem.* repeats these erroneous statements. In general, the latter work is not free from inaccuracies, confused in style, and rather apologetic than historical.

<sup>4</sup> See the document in Goldastus, *ut supra*, pp. 115, 116.

was a civil war, in which each party, in the name of religion, practised cruelties as opportunity offered.

The period of danger to a great movement is not when persecution thins the ranks of its representatives, or measures of coercion repress their energies. It is when, in the hey-day of their success, some of its principles obtain prominence and enlist a large number of supporters. In the great mass of those who follow a religious movement there are comparatively few who can understand or appreciate its deeper bearings; it is the outside, the letter with which the great multitude is familiar. Too often are men content to exchange one bondage of form for another. The *form* of opposition is retained, the *meaning* is lost sight of; the letter, or else the negative element, remains; the spirit, or else the positive element, has fled. It was so in Bohemia. Hus had not left a successor. During the imprisonment of the reformer, *Jacobellus of Misa* had, with the consent of Hus, introduced the communion *sub utraque* in Prague. A Christian reform this, when in organic connexion with the great religious movement; a mere alteration, if isolated, and constituting the sum and substance of the Bohemian ecclesiastical renovation. The Calixtine party<sup>1</sup>—as we shall now in preference call the Hussites—was divided between Utraquists and Taborites. The former summed up their creed under four articles—the free preaching of the gospel, the administration of the Eucharist *sub utraque*, the secularization of the lands of the clergy, and the punishment of public offenders in all classes of the community. Beyond the letter of these articles they would not go; and how little that letter implied will be evident. In truth, a competent logic might reduce the whole into the one concession of allowing the Chalice to the laity. Here the party, now led by the archbishop himself and by the University, took their stand. But in 1417, a very different spirit had sprung up among the lower classes of the community. “Much to the grief” of the University, those had crept in who taught “that there was neither purgatory, nor that men should pray or pay for the dead;” besides, that all former “laudable ceremonies” should be given up. Their principles rapidly spread and bore fruit. Persecuted peasants and burghers with their wives and children

<sup>1</sup> Called so from *Calix*, the cup (in the Eucharist).

gathered on "Mount Tabor," not merely to sing and to pray, but to exercise discipline among themselves and to force their notions upon others. The fourteen articles of the Taborites are simply a negation, not only of Rome, but of literature, education, offices, and law as then existing. The negative is only destructive, not constructive. The same tendencies which are noticeable in the Peasant War of Germany, or among the "Fifth-Monarchy Men" of our own country, soon appeared in Bohemia. Like a pent-up flood, these peasants pour down upon Prague, and take bloody vengeance upon those who had insulted their Chalice. In the midst of these commotions Wenceslaus dies. The day after his decease they begin to sack and to burn churches and monasteries—to maltreat monks, priests, and all their opponents. Henceforth "destruction" is to be the watchword of their wild enthusiasm. The last times had come, but not as to Hus for repentance and faith, but for vengeance. The faithful must flee to the mountains—to Tabor. "These are not times of grace, but of vengeance by fire and sword. . . . Cursed is every one who withholds the sword from the adversaries of Christ's law—who does not wash and sanctify his hands in their blood." Terrible matins these for a fleshly day of the Lord! But the appearance of a common foe for a time restores concord to the divided camp.

From Constance, Sigismond had, despite his levity, discerned the gathering cloud which threatened his Bohemian prospects. If any in the country might have been taken by the hypocritical letter which he addressed to the nobles,<sup>1</sup> protesting his innocence of the death of Hus, they must have been speedily undeceived. The dark hints at the conclusion of the Emperor's epistle were followed by intrigues, and the cruelties of the Papists<sup>2</sup> could in great measure be traced to his interference. Nay, himself had seized at Breslau a peaceable citizen of Prague for no other crime than that of maintaining the necessity of administering the Eucharist under both forms, and at the horse's hoofs dragged him to the stake.<sup>3</sup> At the diet of Ciaslau (1421) his envoys plead in vain for the crown of

<sup>1</sup> See his letter in Goldastus, *ut supra*, pp. 111, 112.

<sup>2</sup> *Comp. Hist. of the Persec.* ch. ix. ; Böhringer, *ut supra*, p. 742.

<sup>3</sup> *Comp. Hist. of the Persec.* pp. 29-31.

Bohemia.<sup>1</sup> The Estates reply by twenty-four grievances, in which their religious complaints and demands—among the former, the burning of Hus, of Jerome, and of Kransa (the Prague citizen), and the ban published against their country; among the latter, the four Calixtine or Utraquist articles—are placed foremost.<sup>2</sup> Utraquists and Taborites unite in their resistance,<sup>3</sup> and for upwards of thirteen years remain victorious in what the Papists call three crusades. But what is not gained on the battle-field may be obtained in the council-chamber. The Utraquists are strong, but their very strength is the source of their weakness. Not much concession is required to grant their four articles, and even this need only be temporary. In 1433, Calixtine deputies are invited to appear at the Council of Basle. The Fathers make humiliating advances, and Rokycana, now the clerical leader of the Utraquists, is gained by the promise of the see of Prague. Still, the agreement is not concluded at Basle, but at Prague. The Legates most fully concede the use of the cup to the laity in Bohemia; they promise to discuss in the council the general question of communion *sub utraque*; the free preaching of the gospel, but under episcopal superintendence, and with the acknowledgment of papal supremacy, is guaranteed; the non-monastic clergy are “not to rule secularly” (*saeculariter dominari*), understanding the expression, however, of the *mode*, not of the *fact*, of their administration; public offenders are to be punished, but only “by those whose business it is,” or as we read it, the clergy is not to be subject to lay-tribunals.<sup>4</sup> In all other respects the Bohemians are to submit to the Church of Rome, with the sorry prospect of being allowed further to plead at the Council of Basle. On this basis the Legates absolved Bohemia and Moravia from all ecclesiastical censures (5th July 1436),<sup>5</sup> and Sigismond concluded peace with his revolted subjects. The Emperor confirmed the *Compactates*,<sup>6</sup> as they were called, and besides, granted letters-patent, in which, for himself and his successors, he engaged to give the fullest protection to the Utraquists, not to allow any person to

<sup>1</sup> See the letter of the Emperor in Goldastus, *ut supra*, p. 263.

<sup>2</sup> See the letter in Goldastus, *ut supra*, pp. 118-122, and pp. 266-270.

<sup>3</sup> The decree of the Diet, *ut supra*, pp. 272-276.

<sup>4</sup> See the various documents, *ut supra*, pp. 126-130, 136-138.

<sup>5</sup> *Ut supra*, pp. 141-145.

<sup>6</sup> *Ut supra*, pp. 132, 133.

be summoned before a foreign tribunal; to have the see of Prague occupied by a Bohemian, chosen by Bohemians; and to admit none but Utraquists into his council or into Utraquist cities.<sup>1</sup> To these concessions special privileges were added for the capital,<sup>2</sup> and Rokycana was acknowledged as archbishop-elect.<sup>3</sup> It was more difficult to reconcile the Taborites to such a composition. But if they had formerly pleaded in vain for eleven articles of agreement with the Calixtines, they were now, after the death of their leaders, and seventeen years of disorganization, far less able to enforce their claims. Besides, they also were divided. Part of them had agreed to refer the points in dispute to arbiters mutually chosen; part had preferred once more to try the fate of arms, and had been signally defeated (June 1434).<sup>4</sup>

It was August 1436 before Sigismond could make entry into Prague. His brief reign gave immediate prospect of the renewal of former feuds. Monks began again to swarm, forgotten rites were re-established, and "the city wore a new appearance."<sup>5</sup> The council, of course, refused any further concessions, nor could Rokycana, either now or after the Emperor's death (in 1437), obtain the papal confirmation of his new dignity. A Bohemian synod might acknowledge him, but neither entreaties, threats, embassies to successive Popes, nor a journey to Rome (which, however, ended at Salzburg) could secure this concession. Indeed, during Sigismond's reign Rokycana had to leave Prague, to which he returned after eleven years' absence, but in a totally different mood. On the death of the Emperor, the Papist party chose Albrecht, and, after his demise, Ladislaus, his posthumous son. During the minority of that prince, the government was conducted by a Papist and a Utraquist administrator. The latter became, in the person of George Podiebrad, sole ruler (1450). Meantime, the strife of parties raged uninterrupted, save where the strong hand of George repressed excesses. The Papists made no longer secret of their disavowal of the Compactates, and of their opposition to Rokycana, who had returned to Prague in 1448.

<sup>1</sup> This decree, according to Gieseler, bears date 6th Jan. 1436; according to Goldastus (pp. 134-138), 1435.

<sup>2</sup> Goldastus, pp. 286-290.

<sup>3</sup> *Ut supra*, p. 291.

<sup>4</sup> See the triumphant letter of Sigismond, *ut supra*, p. 132.

<sup>5</sup> Æneas Sylvius, *Hist. Boh.* c. 52, *apud* Gieseler.

But the Utraquists were in power and could meet their enemies. The Curia had evidently misunderstood them. Judging the antipapal spirit of the country by the letter of the Compactates, it had been hoped, by a little firmness, to reduce the Calixtines to complete obedience. If George could be gained and Rokycana removed, the rest, it was thought, would give little trouble. With that view the celebrated Æneas Sylvius endeavoured to convince the administrator of the hopelessness of Rokycana's cause, and of the desirableness of listening to one who should really represent the Church of Rome in Bohemia. He succeeded so far at least, that George consented to receive instruction from Nicolas Capistran, the great papal missionary of his day, and to enter into negotiations with a cardinal-legate. Capistran was, in some respects, an excellent representative, if not of the Curia, of the only religious direction in his Church—that of a fanatical asceticism. When preaching, his sunken eyes kindled with a strange fire; the spare form, attenuated by vigils and fastings, swayed, under the impulse of his spirit, as willows in the wind. Such spectacle had not been seen within the memory of man; in the person of this monk Rome seemed alive again. Immense crowds, computed at 20,000 and 30,000, attended his open-air preaching. Though his discourses were delivered in Latin (and only translated by an interpreter) he gained over large numbers, as he followed up his denunciations, of which the earnestness and manifest reality (so far as he was concerned) made impression, with promises of plenary absolution. But these philippics gave rise to numerous complaints. Capistran was a zealous but not a wise controversialist; his power lay in his presence. Rokycana called him a hypocrite and a seducer, and Capistran retorted by the not inapt designation of *bellua insensata* ("senseless beast"). The missionary had to leave Bohemia, and an epistle from the cardinal-legate<sup>1</sup> only proved, what might have been otherwise known, that nothing could be expected from Rome. Far other promised an application to the Greek Church, which that body received with every demonstration of respect and joy. But the fall of Constantinople (in 1453) put an end to such proposals.

At the close of the short reign of Ladislaus (1457) the Estates

<sup>1</sup> *Uti supra*, p. 160-164.



chose George Podiebrad their king. He was crowned by papal prelates, and took an oath in which he not only promised personal obedience to the Pontiff, but also to bring back his subjects from all sectarianism, and in every respect to uphold the order established by the Church of Rome.<sup>1</sup> Pontiff and King understood these promises differently. The latter saw nothing contrary to the Compactates in what he regarded as an engagement to suppress the Taborites or other sects; the Pope read in them a promise to restore the rites and the worship of the Church.<sup>2</sup> When the mistake was discovered, the bearing of the Curia was changed. Instead of pacifying the country, as the Pontiff had done at first, he not only repudiated the Compactates, which, he declared, had never received papal sanction, but excommunicated George, and preached a crusade against him. Podiebrad quietly imprisoned the legate, who would have fomented rebellion in Bohemia, and ignored what, after all, proved but vain threats. The crusade did not succeed, and George maintained himself to his death in 1471.

If any spirit of life had been left in Utraquism this was the period for its manifestation. The chief of the party—the only great man it ever produced—reigned in Prague, a Calixtine Cromwell. Respected even by his enemies, strong in action, sagacious in counsel, moderate in the exercise of his power, a father of his people, and a devoted adherent of his religious party, he would have executed their purposes and given effect to their wishes. But the spirit of Hus had long been entombed alive within the four walls of the Compactates, and beyond them, save in the way of carrying to all consequences their letter-worship, they could not go. The assertion of infant-communion was a wretched application of the principle of daily communion. In Prague, Rokycana thundered against Rome, but it was only a negation, not an affirmation which he preached. The Taborites had been effectually crushed. The arbiters chosen to settle the points in dispute had, of course, decided in favour of Rokycana. Those who would not submit were imprisoned, exterminated, or scat-

<sup>1</sup> See the coronation oath, *ut supra*, p. 291, &c.

<sup>2</sup> See the bull of Pius II., in which the inhabitants of Breslau are freed from their allegiance to George, *ut supra*, p. 182, &c. Gieseler refers to a German translation of a Papal bull.

tered by Podiebrad. But from the ashes of that sect a new party was to spring, which neither Utraquism nor the Papacy could slay—which could only die when its course was really run. As for the Calixtines, their future religious history is written in one sentence. Part of them are reactionary and tend towards Rome; the other part liberal, and tend farther from Rome, till their protest merges in the much louder voice raised in Germany.

We must ever distinguish between an antagonism which springs up by the side of truth and keeps pace with its progress, and mere denunciations which can only lead to political results, and have nothing of the religious in them. It may be truthful, it may be right, it may even be duty to denounce, if in room of what you sweep away you have some reality to offer. It can never be right or duty simply to denounce—to destroy without building; at least if the converse of error be not mere negation but some positive truth. Inquiring, serious minds found nothing in Utraquism—save paper-Compactates, a Rokycana archbishop-elect, or some such personality. The great impelling power which was the moving spring in the opposition of Hus—we mean the moral element in religion—had been entirely lost sight of. Yet of all it is the most mighty. Dogmas appeal to the understanding; religion must be matter not only of the intellect, but of the heart and of the life. If, indeed, the gospel were only a thing to be *known*; if that knowledge were not also deeply practical; if every dogma could not in some measure become matter of experience and a personal reality to be lived, then would it furnish but dead not living seed-corn. To the wants of the heart, to the great demands of life, it were but to give a stone for bread, and a serpent instead of a fish. But liable as, in our present state, we are to continual error, and to none more readily than to falling into extremes, we are prone either to dissociate the element of faith from the Christian life, or the Christian life from the impelling power of a living faith. Either of these extremes leads to doctrinal error, and to practical mistakes. A genuine Christianity has to present the Christian life as based upon, derived from, and pervaded by faith—the leaven of the gospel leavening the whole lump, and Christian faith as matter not only of the intellect, but of the heart and of the life also.

If the preponderance of the moral element had from the first

threatened to drift the Bohemian Reformation towards a spiritualism in which justification and sanctification are confounded, this danger was increased by the turn which Utraquism had taken, and by the manifest failure of their doctrinal negations. It was plain that the spiritual renovation which Hus had sought, was not realized by the Calixtines. Clergy and laity were chargeable with the same worldliness which had characterized the Papists; Utraquism in Church and State, was Romanism with an additional saint in its calendar, and an additional rite in its ceremonial. If the work of Hus was to be resumed, the moral element must again have prominence, and its application must be in a direction opposite to that of Utraquism. Considerable obscurity hangs over the life of *Peter of Chelcic*,<sup>1</sup> the founder of this new party. Opponents afterwards called them Taborites, Beghards, Waldensians, and Picards, confounding them with these sects. They assumed the name "Brethren"—characteristic of the movement—*Unitas Fratrum* (Union of Brethren); in popular parlance, Bohemian or Moravian Brethren. The principles laid down in the writings of Peter—among which "The Net of Faith," "Homilies," and "A Portraiture of Antichrist," are the principal—are few and simple; they rather indicate the direction than the teaching. Clergy and nobility, indeed the whole State, are hopelessly corrupt; and from all corruption must the Christian separate. The Church and the individual believer must have no connexion with such a State; they are to stand on an entirely spiritual basis. Christian simplicity demands that a man should sacrifice all worldly learning, honour, and position, on the altar of Christ, and only seek glory in the gospel. Of course, every constraint in matters of faith is unlawful; but even in any wise to seek such carnal defences is unchristian. The spiritual man may not even defend himself, personally, or at law; war, oaths, in short whatever brings into connexion with the world, must be eschewed.

That in the circumstances of the country, adherents should soon have gathered around Peter, can scarcely surprise us. Still the movement would, in all human likelihood, soon have died out or degenerated into mere sectarianism, had not the ranks been swelled by men under the influence of truly spiritual wants.

<sup>1</sup> See Gindely, *Gesch. d. Böhm. Br.* i. p. 14, &c.

A circle of earnest men—at their head, George, the nephew of Rokycana—had for some time been dissatisfied with the preaching of the archbishop-elect. They wanted a *something* which Rokycana could not give, and for which he directed them to Peter, with whom, strange to say, he kept up a friendly and respectful intercourse. Was it that the Utraquist himself, when listening to the voice of conscience, had felt drawn towards the doctrines of Peter, or that he only wished to get rid of the importunity of his questioners? Certain it is, that he not only commended his teaching, but on one occasion admitted that only worldly considerations kept himself from something of the same kind. Through the influence of Rokycana, the Brethren found an asylum at Kunwald, where, under the presidency of Peter, of George, and of Michael (formerly a Popish priest), they soon organized themselves into something like a church, and rapidly gained adherents not only in the country, but even in Prague. This was more than Rokycana could well tolerate; and the new church will have to undergo the first of its many persecutions. A meeting at Prague, at which George presides, is surprised. All present at it are put to the torture, and obliged to make a word-recantation. George alone remains stedfast, and is carried half-dead from the rack.

The impulse which had come from Peter had now taken shape as a separate religious party. Generally speaking, the internal history of every church passes through three phases. In the first or *constituent* period, principles are laid down and landmarks set; in the second or *formative* period, these principles are developed into rules, being extended or modified, as the case may be; in the third or *discriminative* period, all internal questions are settled, and the outward relations of the church, and with them her aims and position, finally fixed. Among the Brethren each of these periods is associated with a history and a name; the constituent period with that of George, the formative with that of Lucas, the discriminative with those of Augusta, of Cerny, of Blahoslav, and of Kalef. As might have been anticipated, the principles laid down by George and his friends are of the most fundamental character. Practical, spiritual Christianity, is to be the aim of the new church. Without establishing a community of goods, each member was only to

consider himself, as in every respect the steward of Christ and a "Brother." All pomp and luxury must cease; the principles of Peter in regard to contact with the world be carried out. The doctrinal basis of the Union is justification by faith and love; in regard to the Eucharist, they had already decided in favour of the real but spiritual presence of Christ in the Sacrament, but not absolutely—only to those who receive the ordinance in faith and love. Private confession must be made for secret, public confession for open sins. All adult converts are to be re-baptized on confession of their faith; owing to the necessary absence of the latter in infants, little value is attached to their baptism. Such were the landmarks drawn by the first Synod of the Brethren, consisting of simple, earnest men from all parts of the country, who met secretly in one of the mountain-solitudes of Bohemia. Another and more difficult question was, how to obtain rulers for the new church. After much prayer and fasting, another Synod meets. In order, after the apostolic model, to get three priests, nine of the most worthy are selected as candidates. Twelve papers are put into the hand of a little boy—nine blanks and three with "*Jest*" (*he is*) inscribed on them. It might thus happen that all the nine candidates would draw blanks, or that one, two, or three, would be chosen. As it was, the lot fell on Matthias, on Thomas, and on Elias, who were immediately set apart by prayer and imposition of hands. This, however, is only their designation, not their ordination. The latter, priest Michael obtains from a Waldensian bishop in Austria.<sup>1</sup> Himself now a bishop, he next consecrates Matthias *Senior* (the new title for bishop), and Thomas and Elias priests. With them, three laymen are conjoined as a council for the government of the new church. This done, Michael demits his office, as having formerly served in the Church of Rome.

The outward fortunes of the Brethren, during that period, were varied. So long as Rokycana and King George lived, they suffered almost continual persecution. "Brother" George defended the "Union" as best he could—by letters, by appeals, by tractates, by a confession, and by a colloquy. Still the

<sup>1</sup> On the connexion between the Waldensians and the "Brethren," see *Note* at the end of this Essay.

measures of repression continued, only interrupted by foreign wars. Many of the leading Brethren were imprisoned; some condemned to the stake. The priests had to flee from one hiding-place to another; all meeting-houses were closed. Religious assemblies could only be held in the woods; in winter, the last comer effaced the foot-prints in the snow, by drawing a rake after him. A temporary alleviation took place when Uladislau, a Polish prince, only sixteen years of age, succeeded to the throne of Podiebrad. Rokycana had died, and the Calixtines, though protected by the king, had it not all to themselves under the rule of a Popish sovereign. Indeed, in 1480, the most advanced among them had to leave the city and University of Prague. Any persecution at that period came chiefly from the reactionary Utraquists, and from the Papists. That quaint work, the *History of the Persecution*, chronicles these events, and notes the judgments of the Lord on the enemies of the Brethren. The providence of God seemed indeed specially to watch over the Union during its rapid spread. If formerly the priests had only been able to communicate spiritual advice to their flocks by letters, which the faithful—among them some devout females—carried to all parts of the country, they might now appear openly, and even defend their faith in discussion with the doctors of Prague. Calumnies against them are no longer believed, not even when coming from those who pretend to have held office among them. In their ranks are some Bohemian lords and graduates of the University; nor will the Estates consent any longer simply to register edicts which decree their extermination. The "Union" has become a power in the land, not only by its direct adherents, but through a goodly number who have learned to respect, and in part to sympathize with them. A loose bond, however, this in times of political adversity.

As the new church increased in numbers, and gained learned and noble members, questions which formerly had been summarily settled must be discussed anew. On the one hand, was the remainder of the band which had gathered around George; on the other, the new and more liberal party, headed by the Prague graduates—Lucas, Laurentius, and Procopius. They understood the advantages of learning, they saw that the old restrictions which demanded that a "Brother" should demit his rank

or abstain from most trades, as being connected with the ways of the world, were a dangerous extreme, which must not only check the growth of the church, but in all likelihood lead to the externalism of a new asceticism. They would also modify their former views on justification, and ascribe salvation mainly to the instrumentality of faith, not wholly excluding, however, the co-operation of good works. The discussions which ensued ended in the victory of the liberal, and the secession of the old party, who formed a separate body, and fell from one extreme into another till they disappear from history.

This may be the place to glance at the constitution of the "Union," as settled during what we have called its *formative* period. The "Brethren" established a modified kind of Presbyterianism. The government of the church was vested in the General Synod, of which the "Council," and all the clergy, were members, and in smaller synods, consisting of leading men; the administration of affairs, generally, was intrusted to the "Council," and to the Seniores; that of congregations to a lay-council chosen by each community. The "Supreme Council," which might consist of priests or laymen, was selected by the suffrages of all the congregations, the members being set apart by the Senior, and receiving the right hand of fellowship. A power of appeal rested with each "Brother," and might be taken from the lay congregational council to the priest, from him to the district synod, and thence to the "Supreme Council" and the General Synod. This is an important provision, when we remember that every dispute between "Brethren" had to be settled by the church-officers, as proceedings at law were strictly prohibited, and that implicit submission and obedience to the "Union" was demanded of all. The Seniores were *ex-officio* members of the "Council," or rather the latter were the assistants of the Seniores, whose number was now fixed at four, instead of only one, as at first. In point of fact, there was, however, no distinction between the Senior and the ordinary priest; these presbyters were only *primi inter pares*, and enjoyed the exclusive power of ordaining candidates for the ministry. Public worship was conducted much as presently in Protestant churches. The ordination of priests was regarded as a season of peculiar solemnity to the church generally, and was preceded by public fasts and

prayer-meetings, the latter a practice of frequent recurrence among the "Brethren." After examination into the lives and qualifications of the candidates, a number of questions were put to them, and the Senior or Seniores, in presence of a large concourse of the clergy and laity, ordained by the laying on of hands. The priesthood supported itself by manual labour, or was supported by the offerings of the faithful—a regular ministerial income becoming more general as the church developed. However, a priest was not allowed to engage in any kind of traffic, nor to hold any civil appointment, nor to discharge any duties which might fully engage his time, such as the practice of physic; nor were collections to be made for the maintenance of public worship, nor was money to be craved from friends or from the great. In short, all offerings of the faithful were to be purely voluntary. The priest was to conduct the public devotions; if capable, to preach; he also administered the sacraments and exercised discipline. The latter, though dispensed in a spirit of love, was very strict—we had almost said severe. Male lay seniores (the congregational council) watched over the male, female seniores over the female members of the flock. In each congregation the Supreme Council held regular visitations. Special importance was attached to the superintendence of households and of individuals. At least four times a year, the priest was to visit every family; he must bestow particular care on the sick. But in the discharge of these duties he may not go forth unaccompanied by a *Socius*—commonly by the *Deacon*, who was also an ordained person, though his clerical functions were more limited. In fact, he acted much in the capacity of servant to the Church, and of *famulus* to the priest; he also shared in the care of the poor, who were objects of special and large beneficence. Having obtained a good report, the deacon was advanced to the office of priest. Rules were laid down for the guidance of the "Brethren" in all ranks and stations. It needs not special mention that routs and worldly amusements, generally, were interdicted; all pomp and luxury must cease. In the matter of dress, every person may appear as befitteth his station; but surely the peasant who wears silk or embroidery has shown that he understandeth not the character of a "Brother." Viewed abstractly, there is nothing unlawful in any occupation or trade—the danger lies in



the unchristian manner of carrying it on, or in the abuse of it. Still, some occupations are in themselves more perilous than others; only sin, or what directly ministers to it, is contrary to the Word of God. The nobles and others may therefore hold public office, only let them not draw the revenues of their offices to spend them in a life of idleness, of worldliness, or of pride. Riches are not necessarily the indication of carelessness, if it is only remembered that the rich are the ministers of the poor. Business must always bring into dangerous contact with the world, and is apt to depress the spiritual standard; but even here a "Brother" may lead a godly life. The same remark applies to certain trades. Thus the tailor may not minister to the vanity of his customers; the vintner must be strictly honest, nor may he entertain others than travellers. In every station of life let each "Brother" be diligent in his calling, and spiritually-minded; let everything be done in the name and in the spirit of Christ. The tenderest and most dutiful relation must ever subsist between members of a family; servants must be faithful; young people humble, respectful, exercised in prayer, avoid every appearance of evil, and keep under the body. Warfare is only lawful in cases of extreme necessity; an oath in a good cause, and when you are quite certain of a fact; the advocate may not plead merely for money, only in a righteous cause, and with permission of the Senior. Even then, no advantage may be taken for the purpose of insuring success. Equally close with that of the laity was the inspection to which the priesthood was subject. In some respects their goods were regarded and treated as belonging not to themselves, but to the "Union;" a priest must not interfere in the worldly affairs of others, and carefully avoid every appearance of evil. Not even a book might be published without the leave of the Seniores. That despite this rigorism the Union rapidly spread, proves that, with all its externalism, it possessed principles of healthy Christian life. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, it numbered in Bohemia, between 300 and 400 congregations, and a membership of about 100,000; soon afterwards it increased to about *one-fourth*, and before a century had elapsed, one of their opponents (though no doubt in exaggeration) computes their adherents—secret and open—at *three-fourths* of the population. By and by the "Brethren"

will also turn their attention to literature; their students will go to foreign universities, and one of the chief offices in the Church will be that of *scribe*, or official "*littérateur*." Among them the best and purest writers of the language will be found; not a hymn-book only, but a new and most faithful version of the Bible will they furnish; and prominent among the translators of the Old Testament we note a Jewish "Brother."<sup>1</sup> Already they occupy a prominent position in the literary world of Bohemia. Of the five printing-presses at work in the country, one belongs to the Papists, a second to the Utraquists, the other three to the "Brethren." Even these do not suffice to supply the demands of the "Brethren," and many of their books have to be printed at Nuremberg.

During the reign of the gentle Uladislau, the "Union" underwent the most trying ordeal in its history. Various enemies combined against it,—the strict Papists, the Bohemian Humanists, and the reactionary Utraquists, headed by the Prague magisters. All these parties were soon convinced that only direct persecution promised any success. The well-meant efforts of a kindly Popish priest, and the preaching of a papal emissary, were equally fruitless. The latter retired from the field with expressions of respect for some of the Brethren; and with charges against their faith and worship which none but the most prejudiced or ignorant could have believed. Other were the measures proposed by the Bohemian Humanists. The appearance of that class on the eve of the Reformation constitutes a singular phenomenon in the religious history of the world. While their protest against mediæval literature and worship prepared the minds of the educated for the change which was about to take place, and themselves in great measure sympathized with the new movement and with those who represented it, as a party they not only stood aloof, but ultimately became hostile to the Reformation. In truth, they wanted the one thing needful—deep moral feeling and religious conviction; another instance this of the insufficiency of a merely negative tendency. In Bohemia, their activity was very similar to that in the other countries of Europe. If the "Brethren" were destined to experience the bitter disappointment of a vain appeal to Erasmus,

<sup>1</sup> Lucas Helicæus. See "*Reform. and Anti-Reform.*," vol. i. p. 111, note.

they felt the direct enmity of his co-labourers in their own country. Their very dissatisfaction with the Papacy, and their respect for the "Brethren," dictated measures of hostility. If sectarianism were only removed, and those precious energies which at present were wasted in what to them seemed vain efforts or ultra-opinions, were combined, much might be attained. They rightly judged, that of all the dissidents in Bohemia the "Brethren" alone possessed elements of vitality and strength. At their instigation, seconded by Papists, reactionary Utraquists, and even by the old party which had seceded from the Brethren, measures of repression commenced on the Royal domains. Still, until the Estates had ratified such decrees, the persecution could not become general. This was at first refused, despite the intrigues of the Prague magisters. At last, after anxious hesitation,<sup>1</sup> the king insisted on the consent of the Diet. Indeed, if one-half the Popish accusations had been true, Uladislauus would have been warranted in suppressing so dangerous a sect. A learned dignitary of Rome, Dr. Augustin, charged them with worshipping Beelzebub, and with every excess. "They are not worthy," he concluded, "that the noble flame should consume them. Let their bodies be torn by wild beasts, and their blood licked up by dogs." The Brethren acted wisely in reprinting this letter, and circulating it with a brief commentary; it served as an excellent apology for them in Bohemia. Still, under pressure, the Estates now ratified the royal mandate, and a general persecution commenced, in extent and severity unequalled by any other. If formerly individuals had suffered,<sup>2</sup> all were now in danger. Every meeting-house is closed; Seniores and priests must hide in lurking-places, known only to the most trusty. Again their activity is confined to pastoral letters, which the faithful carry to all parts of the country; and when, after four years' absence, Senior Lucas, who is now at the head of affairs, attempts to revisit the congregations, he is taken by the treachery of the Papists, and confined to prison. Of the people, some are burnt to death, others imprisoned; property is no longer safe from rapacity, nor innocence from lust. But deprived of their spiritual guides, and exposed to every indignity, these outlaws displayed an amount of moral heroism which

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Persecution*, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> *Ut supra*, p. 72.

even mollified their opponents. Among high and low, male and female, history records instances of the most touching constancy amid nameless tortures, and of uncompromising faithfulness in the face of appalling dangers. These severities necessarily ceased on the death of the King (13th March 1516). Uladislaus was succeeded by his son Louis, a child only ten years of age, whom the Bohemians had elected when an infant in his cradle,—to use the caustic expression of Hassenstein (the great Bohemian Humanist), “thus imitating the example, or rather the folly, of other nations.”

We are now rapidly nearing the period which shall sift and try Rome, Utraquism, and the Union. The split among the Calixtines had well-nigh grown hopeless; and Utraquism, wrecked on its own incompetence and unreality, lay tossed in the storm of the age before finally breaking up. The old party and the leading clergy coquetted with Rome; the Liberals were preparing for Protestantism; the nobility had lost all sympathy with and respect for the clergy, whom they supported only so far as it suited their other purposes. Under these circumstances the appearance of Luther acted like an electric shock on Europe, and more particularly on Bohemia. Lutheran and anti-papal tractates were soon brought to Prague. So early as 1519, two clergymen of Prague hailed Luther as the Saxon Hus, and admonished him to remain steadfast, even if excommunicated. It needed not such advice; Luther was a man of convictions, not of theories. Even had it not been for such communications, it was natural the German should feel deep interest in the country of Hus. In 1522, he addressed a letter to the Bohemian Estates, urging them to complete the work begun by their great Reformer. But the prudence of Luther was not always equal to his zeal. Religious adventurers could, by fawning, take advantage of his warm-heartedness. Among that class was *Gallus Cahera*, a man whose ambition out-distanced even his incompetence. During a stay of three months at Wittenberg, he had succeeded so well that Luther sent him back, furnished with a letter, in which the delicate task of completing the Bohemian Reformation was intrusted to his care. By dint of intriguing and deceiving the Liberals, Cahera was soon at the head of Utraquist affairs. In 1524, the Estates agreed, at his suggestion, on twenty articles of decidedly Lutheran tone, priestly celibacy be-

ing alone still enjoined. But Cahera was not a Reformer, he was only a clumsy Rokycana, with all the worldliness but with none of the talent of the "Archbishop-Elect." Accordingly, having got all the Utraquists could give, he made a sudden turn, in the hope of succeeding equally well with the Romanists. At his instigation the twenty articles were again cancelled, and the Liberals among the clergy and the magistracy imprisoned or expelled. But farther than this the Diet refused to follow. The application of Cahera and his party for a composition with Rome failed, equally from the determined opposition of the Bohemian nobles and the refusal of the Legate to sanction the Compactates. All this time "the Union" enjoyed uninterrupted peace. Luther had naturally, also, attracted the attention of the "Brethren." The differences obtaining between the German Reformer and the "Union" can be stated in a few sentences. Like the "Brethren," Luther believed in the "Church of the Elect;" but he disapproved of their want of precision and accuracy on the subject of justification, of their views on the Eucharist (which he had criticised so early as 1520), of their adult baptism and disparagement of infant baptism, of their seven sacraments, and of their preference for clerical celibacy. However, modifications on the three last-mentioned points, which gradually took place, brought them nearer to the Calvinistic than the Lutheran branch of the Protestant Church. In 1522, two of the Brethren visited Wittenberg. Their earnestness and manifest Christian reality made a deep impression on Luther, which no after controversy effaced. Henceforth he speaks of them in a tone of real affectionateness.<sup>1</sup> Their divergences he asserts are rather verbal than real; on almost all main questions they are sound (*inveni fere omnia sana*); in entire purity the gospel was, alas! nowhere to be found (*adeo nusquam est in orbe puritas evangelii*).<sup>2</sup> But the growing laxity and disputatiousness in Germany, which so sadly contrasted with their own strictness of discipline, made an unfavourable impression on the Bohemians, which a visit in 1524 and subsequent intercourse only deepened.<sup>3</sup> With greater tenacity than before they clung

<sup>1</sup> Walch, xix. *apud* Gieseler.

<sup>2</sup> *Epist. ad Spalat.* de Wette, ii. 217, *apud* Gieseler.

<sup>3</sup> Luther seems ardently to have desired the introduction of a discipline similar to that of the Bohemians. See Art. LUTHER, in Herzog's *Real-Enc.*, vol. viii. p. 603.

to their own dogmas, which, as they thought, practical experience had confirmed, especially on the article of justification. Lucas replied to Luther even with an amount of bitterness. This state of isolation lasted during the strong, almost despotic, administration of the old Senior. Worn by suffering, disease, and labour, Lucas, soon afterwards, laid him down to rest, committing the seventy-five tractates he had written implicitly to the censorship of his successors—his life and work to the Head of the Church. To the last, he cares for the welfare of the "Brethren;" with his dying breath he commends the widows and the poor to the fostering care of the Seniores. By experience he had found that the more liberally he had provided for them, the more had the common treasury been replenished. Brother Lucas fell asleep, 11th December 1528.

At the death of Louis (1526) the House of Hapsburg obtained, in virtue of a marriage-contract, possession of the country. Ferdinand I., brother of the Emperor Charles V., had on his election confirmed the privileges of the realm. His first steps gave little indication of his future policy. He banished the Utraquist reactionary leaders, among them Cahera, who ended his days as a publican in an obscure corner of Germany. Probably the king had only wished to remove the troublesome chiefs, in order the more easily to deal with the party. He certainly neither favoured Lutheranism nor liberal Utraquism, far less the "Union." A devout Papist, he would fain have put an end to all dissent, and introduced certain reforms into the Church of Rome. These views sufficiently appeared during his administration, and were only modified by his exigencies in Germany, in the wars with Turkey, in disputes with his own subjects, or else by the outbursts of his ungovernable temper, which at times equally passed the bounds of prudence and of decency. The fate of German Protestantism becomes now an important element in our history, as influencing the condition of parties in Bohemia, and to it we shall therefore have frequent occasion to refer.

The first measure of persecution befell the Anabaptists, from whom the "Brethren" took care to distinguish themselves, by giving up their peculiar notions on baptism. Further acts of religious intolerance were meantime rendered impossible by the Turkish war, in which Ferdinand required the assistance of all

Bohemian Lords. Lutheran, but especially Calvinistic leanings increasingly pervade the "Union." In proof, we mention that an apology, drawn up by the Brethren, is translated and published at Zurich; while another, apparently more authentic and more Lutheran version appears at Wittenberg, with a preface by Luther, in which he warmly commends the Bohemians to the charity and prayers of his friends.<sup>1</sup> As the Germans had presented a Confession at Augsburg, the "Brethren" follow their example (14th November 1535). But Ferdinand only replied in threatening language. Augusta, after the death of Lucas, the leading Senior, was even obliged to withdraw for a time to Wittenberg. What he there saw, and what we shall soon have to sketch, confirmed his preference for Calvinistic teaching and discipline. Henceforth the intercourse between the Bohemians and Calvin, Bucer, Capito, &c., was cordial and close.

The king made no secret of his dislike of Utraquism as a system, and of his abhorrence of "Brethrenism." Even the just claims of the Calixtines were set aside. The Compactates were to be strictly enforced; but these the Estates would no longer have, and in 1537 passed a number of decidedly Protestant articles, which may be regarded as forming an epoch in the history of Utraquism. The clergy, now under the leadership of Mistopol, were not slow to follow in the same direction. In 1543, they decided against the sacrifice of the mass and the invocation of saints, and in favour of the doctrine of justification by faith. The folly of the Calixtine priesthood was at all times only equalled by their ignorant arrogance. Themselves split into most hostile parties—the Reactionaries and the Liberals—they continued to direct their united efforts against the Brethren, and in this respect were the faithful allies of the Papists. It is too often the case that a party only increases in petulance and in arbitrary or impossible demands as the chances of success decrease. All this time the Utraquists could not or would not understand that on all sides they were surrounded by dangers from which only united and firm action could have saved them. They wished to rule, and to rule alone. Ferdinand had been sufficiently incensed at the idea of a Utraquist clerical meeting. The Reactionaries, who kept him informed of all that went on,

<sup>1</sup> Walch, xiv. p. 396, *apud* Gieseler.

had their short-lived triumph. Threats were soon followed by deeds, when Mistopol carried his grievances to the pulpit. The Calixtine leaders were interdicted, banished, or imprisoned, and Mistopol learned a lesson which he would not readily forget. It was easier to be an anti-papal demagogue, to coerce an assembly of his equals, or to rouse the passions of the multitude, than to suffer. The former only required boldness; the latter, courage. From that time Mistopol took care to sail with the wind. The "Brethren," also, would soon have felt the whole weight of royal power had not events occurred in Germany which rendered temporary forbearance an unpleasant necessity. To these events we must briefly refer.

Already the first sounds which were to summon Europe to a great politico-religious war were heard in Germany. After some wavering, the Emperor Charles v. had decided against Protestantism; only, his wars with Turkey and France, and the treacherous policy of the Italian States, prevented him from striking a blow. But sufficient indications had been given of what might be expected. The Augsburg Confession (1530) was summarily refuted, and the 15th April 1531<sup>1</sup> fixed as a last term for submission. In the interval, the Protestants were to abstain from all aggressive measures, and all secularized Church property was ordered to be restored. The formation of the "Schmalcalde Union" (Dec. 1530, and 29th March 1531) of Protestant princes, and a fresh Turkish war, obliged Charles to grant the peace of Nuremberg (23d July 1532), which left matters *in statu quo*. But the Emperor only delayed for a more convenient season. Meantime, a Popish Counter-League ("the Holy League") was formed (Nuremberg, 10th June 1538). Still, so long as Protestantism was not broken up into hostile political and theological factions, the Reformation spread. About the year 1544, it numbered in its ranks three among the four secular electors of Germany (viz., Saxony, Brandenburg, and the Palatinate), while of the three ecclesiastical electors, one (Cologne) was in heart Protestant, and another (Mayence) opposed not the spread of the new movement. Almost all the other secular princes and free cities of the empire had decided in its favour; the state of Bohemia, we know; and even in Austria and Bavaria, toleration had to be extended to Protestantism.

<sup>1</sup> Not the 5th May, as *Hardwick* has it.



But Sectarianism and sordid political motives divided and paralysed the Protestants of Germany. If, in the impetuosity of his character, Luther had branded the Calvinists as sevenfold worse than the Papists, those who followed him only widened the breach and converted differences into antagonism. Already, Brandenburg, the Palatinate, and Duke Maurice of Saxony, who had long coveted the electoral dignity and the possessions of the kindred branch of his house, stood aside or even espoused the Imperial cause. It was well known that peace had been made with France for the avowed purpose of crushing Protestantism,<sup>1</sup> and that Pope and Emperor planned a new crusade.<sup>2</sup> But all these indications were left unheeded, and the death of Luther (18th Feb. 1546) removed the last hope of combination among the Protestants. A peremptory call to submit to the Council of Trent is followed by a declaration of war against the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse; a short campaign this, in which the Imperialists succeed, the two princes are carried away captive, and Maurice of Saxony receives the electoral dignity and a large portion of the possessions of his noble kinsman in reward for his treachery.

In Bohemia, the Schmalcalde War had raised the hopes of some and the expectations of all. If even the Papists and Reactionary Utraquists would only after considerable hesitation, and obtaining certain concessions, join the Imperial cause, the Liberal Utraquists and the "Brethren" nobility openly espoused the Protestant cause. One thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight leading persons signed an agreement, and resolved to levy troops. The clergy and the seniores had from the first taken no other part in this rising than to order a general fast; indeed, a short visit to Prague had convinced Senior Augusta of the unutterable confusion and the entire hopelessness of affairs. The managing committee of eight nobles (of whom four were Brethren) were eloquent at the council-board, but perfectly use-

<sup>1</sup> "Que cette dite paix se fait et fonde pour le service de Dieu . . . reduction de notre sainte foi et religion en union Chrétienne."

<sup>2</sup> The Pope was to furnish 1200 foot, 500 horse, and £100,000, and to allow the sale of ecclesiastical property to the amount of 500,000 crowns, on condition that the Emperor "educat omnes copias suas, summo virium molimine adversus Protestantas . . . et ad veram et antiquam religionem et obsequium sedis Apostolicæ revocentur."

less for practical purposes. Instead of an army of 60,000, only 2000 appeared in the field; an ill-fed and worse-paid rabble, which quietly dispersed after the victory of the Imperialists at Mühlberg. On this the dissidents even sent an embassy to congratulate Ferdinand on his victory and to implore pardon. The king knew to improve his success. Already, in 1545, he had, in virtue of old treaties, declared the crown of Bohemia hereditary in the house of Hapsburg. The election of the Estates became merely a ratification, freedom of choice being only left if the reigning house should become extinct. He now exacted many fines from rebellious towns and nobles. The leaders had consulted their safety by flight. Of the rest, four (among them at least *one* Brother) were executed; the others (among them at least nine Brethren), kept prisoners on their estates and heavily mulcted. Ferdinand would go further—he would use the favourable opportunity for entirely crushing Protestantism in Bohemia. The Calixtines were now as loud in their loyalty as they had formerly been in their patriotism. Mistopol, who even began to Romanize, and his friends, attempted to lay on the Brethren the whole blame of the late rebellion. No doubt, Ferdinand knew the real state of matters; but he was too glad to have a good pretext for attacking the “Union” to listen either to the vindication or to the entreaties of the persecuted.

It was all the more easy to enforce the execution of the late Edict of Uladislaus that the leading lay Brethren had been implicated in the rising, and the Liberal party generally had sustained a considerable check. A special commission, under the immediate supervision of the king's son, who acted as viceroy, was appointed to exterminate the “Union.” Ferdinand had left special directions for their guidance. The first point of attack was to be the district of *Leitomishl*, and the great object here was the capture of Senior Augusta. On pretence of having burnt an image in his kitchen, a most respectable citizen was during the winter kept in a cold and filthy prison. Worn in body and mind, he left his dungeon only to make Utraquist recantation—and to die the same day. Other sixteen burghers, who had accompanied the funeral procession of a “Brother,” were confined to the lowest prison in Prague, where all the filth of the castle was discharged. Such was the stench that even from the outside

the wives of the prisoners could not bear to converse with them. But the courage of these "Brethren" failed not. Augusta knew to supply them with money and letters, and their own wives urged them rather to die than recant. Only six chose the latter alternative; they and the others had soon to leave the country. The next capture was that of Senior *Augusta* and of *Jacob Bilek*, his principal assistant. The Senior was loaded with chains, and to extort impossible confessions both he and his companion were put to the rack. Tied to boards, boiling pitch was poured on their loins and again torn off with pincers; they were then hung on a hook, their feet being loaded with stones. Taken down half dead, the same tortures were repeated after the lapse of only a few hours. This method of examination it was proposed to continue till they made sufficient disclosures. With his own royal hand, Ferdinand suggested some new and unheard-of torments.<sup>1</sup> We copy these instructions as illustrating our history.

"1. Augusta is to receive sufficient supplies of food, but to be continually watched, so as not to have a single moment's rest either by day or night, for five or six days.

"2. He is to be extended on his back, with the head unsupported, and kept for one or two days in that posture—his nostrils being occasionally moistened with vinegar, to preserve consciousness. During this time it would be well to tie, under a nut-shell, some large, stinging insect on his stomach.

"3. For several days he is to get only highly seasoned food, but without being allowed any liquid."

Happily, before this infamous mandate reached Prague, the two martyrs were in the dark, cold prison of the Castle of Pürglitz, where their treatment, however rigorous, was more humane. By and bye the devotion of "Brethren," and the patient endurance of the sufferers, will lead to an amelioration in their condition.

If the king had hoped that these measures would crush the "Union," he completely misunderstood their spirit—the last "Brother" would, in all likelihood, suffer and die as a "*Brother*." A general edict (of dates 5th and 12th May 1548) now ordered the immediate banishment of every member of the Union who

<sup>1</sup> See Gindely, *Böhm. Br.* i. p. 325.

lived on the royal domains.<sup>1</sup> Only few chose to apostatize (for a time); the great majority, probably amounting to upwards of a thousand, emigrated to Poland and Prussia, where they founded new churches. On their sad journey they were assisted by the liberality of their brethren, and received every kindness even from Utraquists and Papists. The pilgrims had to pay neither toll nor custom, and large bands of armed men watched over their safety by the way. The measures against the Brethren having been carried to their utmost length, Ferdinand resolved to try what might be made of the Utraquists. In a meeting of the clergy, Mistopol, who was now the king's tool, coerced all present to agree to twelve articles, on the basis of which the Utraquists would return to the Church of Rome. But the Estates positively refused their sanction to these proposals, and a number of the clergy, no longer borne down by Mistopol, gladly joined their opposition. Important events in Germany once more stayed the hand of Ferdinand, and encouraged the Liberals.

Not the Protestants only had been surprised by the Emperor's sudden success. France dreaded the growing power of the house of Hapsburg; Rome feared the necessity of Reforms. Accordingly, the Pope had hastily transferred the council from Trent to Italy, recalled his auxiliaries, and even advised secretly to assist the Protestants.<sup>2</sup> Not better fared the religious measures proposed by Charles. The *Interim*, drawn up by *Agricola*, court-chaplain of Brandenburg, and by two Popish prelates, was rejected by the Papists, and greatly modified by such of the Protestants as received it. But above all, Maurice, the new Elector of Saxony, was dissatisfied. At the head of a considerable force, which increased as he proceeded, he marched against Inspruck, where Charles lay sick and without an army, forsaken by his own brother,<sup>3</sup> and betrayed by his former allies. At the same time the French took some places in Alsace. The long cherished plans of counter-reformation had now to be given up. The treaty of Passau (2d Aug. 1552) was soon followed by the

<sup>1</sup> Not of all the Brethren in Bohemia, as Hardwick (*Hist. of the Chr. Ch. during the Reform.* p. 96) erroneously supposes.

<sup>2</sup> Sous main d'entretenir ceux qui luy resistant.

<sup>3</sup> See Vehse, *House of Austria*, vol. i. p. 154.

peace of Augsburg (25th Sept. 1555), in which German Protestantism received its *Magna Charta*: a document this, not less remarkable for what it concedes than for what it withholds. The Augsburg Confession (to the exclusion of every other) was to be tolerated, and all ecclesiastical properties secularized before the treaty of Passau to remain in the hands of the Protestants. On the other hand, the "*ecclesiastical reservation*" clause provided that in case any spiritual prince joined the Lutheran Church, his possessions should revert to a popish successor in office; while the principle "*cujus regio, ejus religio*" allowed the secular princes to force their own religion on their subjects, leaving them only the doubtful alternative of emigration. Soon after this treaty, Charles v. abdicated in favour of King Ferdinand, his brother.

However small, the success of the Protestant cause in Germany was not without its effects on Bohemia. Already Mistopol began again to inveigh against the Papacy; already the Utraquist nobility again protected the "Brethren," whose meetings were now held more openly. But a serious difficulty was soon to occur. Since 1550, the Brethren had found means to communicate with Augusta in his prison, and to minister relief to the sufferers. Their Seniores were now fast dying out, and with them ceased the power of ordination and the government of the church. Augusta obstinately refused the appointment of new colleagues. Perhaps long and solitary imprisonment made him exacting towards those in whose cause he had suffered—perhaps he hoped for speedy liberation, as the Diet of 1552, and even the liberal prelate of Olmutz had interceded for him. But the case was too pressing for delay, and when the secret correspondence with Augusta had been discovered and stopped, and he carried for a short time to Prague, as was thought for execution, the Synod chose Cerny, Cerwenka, and soon after Blahoslav (the most elegant Bohemian author of the century) as Seniores. A repetition of the persecuting edicts (in 1555) induced the Brethren to take the novel step of despatching Blahoslav to Vienna, to procure relief through their king-elect, Maximilian, whose Protestant leanings were well known.

Despite the personal opposition of the Hapsburg family, the Reformation from the first made rapid progress in Austria. In

1524 and in 1528 the new church had undergone its baptism of blood. Almost all the nobility inclined towards Protestantism, and the Archduke of Austria had not power to resist those who ruled him in Diet, and who had formed themselves into "a chain" for the purpose of preserving their independence. Nor was there much in the Church of Rome to attract affection or to secure respect. Even Ferdinand felt the need of certain reforms, among which the dispensation of the Eucharist under both forms (a concession to Protestantism), and the abolition of priestly celibacy, were the most prominent. An official visitation of the clergy had disclosed the astounding fact, that "in 122 monasteries, along with 436 monks and 160 nuns, no less than 199 concubines, 55 wives, and 443 bastards had been found, while scarcely any of the secular clergy remained unmarried." At a later period, the Archbishop of Salzburg himself was married and the father of a numerous family. The new opinions had found access even into the imperial family. Maximilian, the heir apparent, had been trained by a Protestant. He had read a great part of Luther's writings, been in the habit of taking the communion *sub utraque*, and kept a Lutheran chaplain, Dr. Pfäuser. His passionate father viewed these leanings with sorrow and indignation, the more so that reproaches from Rome implicated him in the alleged heresy.<sup>1</sup> Ferdinand delighted in exaggerating some youthful excesses of Maximilian,<sup>2</sup>—and altogether, such was the mutual estrangement, that an asylum had been bespoken in Germany in case of personal danger. The Protestants expected that, on his accession, Maximilian would declare in favour of the Reformation,—hopes, as we shall see, doomed to disappointment.

In these circumstances, the mission of Blahoslav to Vienna was not attended with immediate success. Meantime, the development of German Protestantism impressed on the "Brethren" the necessity of guarding their own doctrine. From a visit to the Protestant cities and theologians, Blahoslav had returned with impressions very far from favourable. His verdict we read in his diary, and in the acts of the "Union:" the grounds

<sup>1</sup> Among other papal objections against Ferdinand were the following:—"Item, a fait à son escient mouvoir son fils aîné de fausses doctrines: *item*, souffre de long-temps prêcher en sa cœur à la Luthérienne."

<sup>2</sup> Vehse, *ut supra*, p. 218.

of it may best be gathered from a rapid sketch of the state of Protestant Germany after the death of Luther. We are far from denying that there were not many Lutheran ministers and laymen who understood and felt the positive truths of the Reformation. Not only among the Mystics, but among the straitest portion of the Lutheran Church, there were men like Arndt, Gerhard, and others, whose praise is in all the churches. But these were rather the exception than the rule. Generally, piety had degenerated into the most odious sectarianism, and Protestantism into mere negations which, in practice at least, ran close to Antinomianism. With such persons Lutheranism had become crystallized—orthodoxy meant the repetition of the veriest words of the Reformer; hatred of Popery was no longer scriptural opposition to what defaced the truth of God, but a rude and lawless removal of former restraints,—the low vulgarism which only ridicules all, because it cannot sympathize with a deeper spirit, nor understand more elevated motives, having nothing of its own save a shapeless mass of coarseness and presumption. The historian who traces the early history of Protestantism must write his narrative with no small measure of sorrow and shame; his only comfort being that matters were much better in the Reformed (or Helvetic) branch of the Church, which at least was in great measure free from the rule of debauched and incompetent ducal bigots.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, at the close of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries the vices of most Protestant princes were notorious—an incredible brutality characterized public and private life. The Elector of Brandenburg was one of the lowest debauchees; his brother of Saxony was deformed by excesses, and so given to intoxication, that on his return from a visit to the Emperor Rodolph he wrote to thank for the courtly treatment he had received, in virtue of which, during his entire stay at Prague, he had “scarcely been sober for a single hour.” His worthy successor was popularly nicknamed “Beer George.” Excessive eating and drinking and immoderate hunting had hopelessly deranged the public exchequer. For these excesses the princes compounded by a corresponding degree of Lutheran zeal. Most of the clergy were servile partisans, whose main strength lay in furious invectives against their theological opponents;

<sup>1</sup> Comp. especially the beautiful portraiture of the character and reign of the godly Elector Palatine, drawn by Sudhoff, in his *Olevianus u. Ursinus*. (Elberf. 1857.)

dogmatics had almost become scholastic prize-fighting; the keepers of the princely consciences—not an easy charge, considering public and princely morality—were miserable flatterers, zealous where they should have been charitable, and lax where they should have been earnest. Party spirit had sprung up even before the death of Luther, Melanchthon being already the target of the ultra-men. With *Agricola* commenced the Antinomian controversy. Rejecting the obligation of the decalogue and the law generally, he would, in the language of sectarians of his day, exclaim, “All who have anything to do with Moses must go to the devil;—to the gallows with Moses!” “Peter knew nothing of Christian liberty;” to insist on holiness was to sell the gospel. If these were the sentiments of the court-chaplain of Brandenburg, we scarcely wonder at the life of his master. Luther made light of “the merryman,”<sup>1</sup> as he not inaptly characterized his qualifications; still, his vanity was as dangerous as his ultraism. “Non solum adfui compositioni sed etiam præfui,” he boasts after the Popish prelates had flattered or paid him into the *Interim*, which was to have become the basis of a union with Rome. When, after the death of the Reformer, Melanchthon was left alone, his divergences from strict Lutheranism became so many points of fiercest dispute. The gentle Philip was indeed totally unfit to become a theological leader: he was a man of peace and of moderate views, two qualities entirely incompatible with the circumstances of his time and position. Sometimes where firmness was most needed, his moderation even degenerated into weakness. The controversies of that period are known by names taken from the subjects under discussion. The *Synergistic* controversy bore on the co-operation of man’s free choice in conversion, which Melanchthon maintained, though in guarded language.<sup>2</sup> To the *Antinomian* controversy we have already referred.<sup>3</sup> In the *Eucharistic* controversy,

<sup>1</sup> “Meum consilium fuit, ut a functione verbi in æternum abstineret et jocularum aliquam professionem susciperet.”

<sup>2</sup> “In hoc exemplo videmus conjungi has causas, *Verbum, Spiritum Sanctum et Voluntatem*, non sane otiosam, sed repugnantem infirmitati suæ.”—Mel. *Loci Theol.*, ed. 1555.

<sup>3</sup> “Bona opera ita necessaria sunt ad vitam æternam, quia sequi reconciliationem necessarie debent. . . . Et necessaria est illa obedientia et placet Deo, *sed in reconciliationis*, et est justitia non quia legi satisfacit sed quia jam personæ placent.”—Mel. *ut supra*.



Melanchthon shared the views of the Swiss Reformers. Lastly, the *Adiaphoristic* controversy bore on the readiness of Melanchthon to yield to the Church of Rome in things indifferent in themselves. Germany was arrayed into two great hostile theological factions. After the Schmalcalde War, Wittenberg, where the *Philippists* (or adherents of Melanchthon) taught, fell into the hands of Maurice, the chief of the "Albertine" branch of the house of Saxony. On this the old or "Ernestine" line immediately founded Jena as the citadel of strict Lutheranism. If *Amsdorf* maintained in Jena that good works were not only not necessary for salvation, but even detrimental, *Major* replied from Wittenberg in language liable to misunderstanding, but in a sense equally correct and pertinent. This violent "*Majoristic*" dispute was kept up along with the *adiaphoristic* and all the others to which we have referred. But even Jena was not sufficiently orthodox. *V. Strigel* had, in an unguarded hour, affirmed, that though man was wholly depraved, some remainder was left in him where Divine grace might find, as it were, a point of connexion.<sup>1</sup> To this *Flacius Illyricus* replied, that original sin constituted the very substance of human nature, or, that man was original sin personified. His followers (the "*Cadaverists*") added, that sin continued to cleave to the dead bodies of believers till the resurrection. What ministry would be reared by such theologians needs no comment. The pulpits, instead of giving forth the truth concerning the Saviour of sinners, resounded with absurd scholasticism or gross invective. In Königsberg, *Osiander* enjoyed the protection of the reigning Duke. His confusion of justification and sanctification<sup>2</sup> had been exposed by *Straphylus*; but it remained for *Mörlin* to raise popular vengeance against him. If *Osiander* would in the pulpit characterize his opponents as "rude blockheads, impudent donkeys, and keepers of swine," *Mörlin* would reply: "The jus-

<sup>1</sup> "Vere igitur affirmo, hominem viribus naturalibus sine Filio Dei, sanante nostra vulnera per Evangelium et dante Spiritum Sanctum, ne quidem inchoare posse veram et salutarem conversionem ad Deum,—tamen non ita in nobis efficax est ut invitum hominem subigat, sed ut subjectionis cupidum faciat; nec ut ignorantem trahat, sed ut intelligentem sequentemque præcedat. Donec enim omnino repugnat voluntas, nulla potest fieri conversio."

<sup>2</sup> "Horribiliter errant qui verbum *justificare* tantum intelligant pro *justum reputare* et *pronunciare*, et non pro eo quod est in veritate et re ipsa: *justum efficere*."

tification which Osiander teaches is neither in heaven nor on earth. Fie, thou black devil, with thy justification ; may the Almighty cast thee into the lowest depths of hell. The devil take this justification,—I will not have it.”<sup>1</sup> On other occasions he would incite the populace to open rebellion against the princely protector of Osiander, in which he was but too well seconded by the Estates of the country. In vain the court-preacher *Funk* (son-in-law of Osiander) retracted, and obtained a certificate of orthodoxy from Wittenberg. The charge of “Philippism” was now added, and Funk and his friends expiated their supposed heresies on the scaffold, the spectators blasphemously intoning the “*Veni Sancte Spiritus*.”<sup>2</sup> In Jena there was a regular Lutheran inquisition, and all who would not subscribe to every exaggeration of Flacius, suffered such indignity and persecutions as only enraged fanatics know to inflict. French and other refugees from England were not allowed to set foot in Denmark, because they favoured the views of Calvin. On the same ground, the city of Bremen was in danger of a regular crusade. The storm of Lutheran persecution was soon to burst upon Wittenberg itself. Mercifully, Melanchthon was removed (19th April 1560). A few days before, he had noted the following in view of death : “Thou shalt be free from sin ; from sorrow and from the rabidness of theologians (‘a rabie theologorum’) shalt thou be delivered ; thou shalt reach the light, see God, and behold the Son of God. The wondrous mysteries which here thou couldst not understand—why man was created, and what is the union of the two natures in Christ—shalt thou learn to solve.” The safety of the Wittenberg divines had hitherto chiefly depended on the belief of the Elector Augustus,—a man so orthodox as to swear, “that if there was a single Calvinistic vein in his body, he wished the devil would tear it out,”—in their Lutheran soundness. But when the Philippists, not content to deny the ubiquity of Christ’s body, gave vent to “Crypto-Calvinistic” sentiments on the Eucharist, the Electoral wrath knew no bounds. Chancellor Cracow was tortured to death ; Pastor Stössel, from similar treatment, lost his reason. Peucer (the son-in-law of Melanchthon) was for twelve years immured in the

<sup>1</sup> K. A. Menzel, *Neuere Gesch.* vol. iv. p. 319, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Hagenbach, *Vorles.*, vol. iii. p. 265, &c.

lowest and most unhealthy prison, deprived even of his Bible, and treated with every indignity. To commemorate the victory of Lutheranism, a medal, representing Christ victorious over Satan and Reason, was struck. A second marriage of the Elector, which held out the prospect of a different policy, produced another medal, representing Eve in the act of handing to our first parent the forbidden fruit, with the suitable device, "By her evil counsel, Eve—father Adam did deceive." Under such coercion the "*Formula Concordiæ*," an expression of the most rigid Lutheranism,<sup>1</sup> was forced on the clergy of Saxony. In other countries the authority of this "paper-papacy" was either resisted, or only continued for a short time. The accession of Christian I. of Saxony again brought the Crypto-Calvinists, headed by that able, Christian, and truly patriotic statesman, Crell, into power. Their wise measures were soon to be disowned. On the very day of Christian's funeral, Crell and his clerical friends were confined to prison. After three years' imprisonment, the statesman was brought to the scaffold. It will best illustrate the feelings of the Lutheran clergy if we quote part of the admonitions they saw fit to address to the dying Christian. "A Calvinist is one who believes not nor trusts in God or in His word; who, puffed up with the idea of special sanctity, wisdom, and learning, despises and calumniates all who do not agree with him,—who robs Christ of Divine honour, puts Him in the rank of, or little above, the angels and saints,—who denies the omnipotence and truth of Christ, opens the way to Nestorianism, Arianism, Mohammedanism, and heathenism; deceives magistrates and other people; gives himself, body, soul, and spirit, to destruction." Such were the deductions which a scholastic sectarianism could make from the teaching of Calvin anent the Eucharist! With the prayer, "Father who hast created, Jesus Christ who hast redeemed, Holy Spirit who hast sanctified me, to Thee I surrender what in this life Thou hadst intrusted to me; receive it, and take it again to Thyself," the aged Crell carried his cause to the great tribunal, and laid his head on the block. Brutality characterized even the mournful solemnities of that hour. The populace had full liberty, of which abundant use had already been made in insulting the dead

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Dr. Heppe, *Gesch. d. Concordienformel*, Braunsch. 1858.

bodies of Crypto-Calvinists, and in every excess of riot. On the executioner's sword the words, "Beware, Calvinist!" had been engraven. An appropriate sermon wound up these iniquitous proceedings. It were, indeed, not too much to assert, that with the death-blow of Crell, fell the prospects of German religious and political liberty, union and strength. Henceforth a Thirty Years' War, and permanent disunion and weakness, must be the fate of such governments. Such orthodoxy can only issue in Rationalism.

With dangers like these staring them in the face, the "Brethren" resolved strictly to abide by their own discipline and teaching, modifying them only on such points as priestly celibacy, &c. Augusta's weary captivity of sixteen years was also drawing to a close. The castle of Pürlitz had now far other tenants than the tortured martyrs of Christ. The Archduke Viceroy had married Philipina Welser, the Augsburg maiden, of whose rare beauty historical tradition has preserved so many reminiscences. To interest her, who resided at Pürlitz, in the aged prisoner, was not very difficult. Already Augusta and Bilek had, after eight years of solitary imprisonment, been allowed to spend the Easter festivities in comparative liberty. After an attempt made by the Jesuits to convert them to Romanism, Bilek was set free, having first conformed to Utraquism. Augusta, who deemed himself forsaken by the "Union," because the "Brethren" no longer obeyed his injunctions, would have willingly purchased liberty on the same terms. But his captivity lasted for some years longer, during which the faithful Bilek was permitted to wait on his master and friend. A gracious Providence allowed not greater temptation to befall the old man than he was able to bear. When restored to liberty (after an imprisonment of sixteen years), it was without any recantation on his part—a declaration that he would abstain from preaching sufficed. On his liberation, Augusta found things in a totally different state from what he could have imagined. He was also destined to witness the last trial of Utraquism, only delayed by the hand of death, which removed the Emperor Ferdinand in July 1564.

The situation of the Popish party was indeed sufficiently critical in Bohemia. Their number, already only amounting to

about one-third of the population, was continually and largely decreasing. Besides the causes, which in other lands had contributed to the same result, there were some peculiar to the circumstances of the country. The long vacancy of the see of Prague, and the dissidence of so many landed proprietors, helped to dissolve every bond which would have connected the priesthood to each other or to the people. The patron of a parish engaged his priest, like any other servant, for a year—with this difference only, that his wages were by no means so regularly paid. Of course the Utraquist lords would not give tithes, and their Papist neighbours found this arrangement too convenient not to imitate it. If, from any cause, the priest had displeased the laird, he was dismissed at the first term, and even before that time he might readily be starved out. Accordingly, in the spring of every year there was throughout the country a regular “fitting” of offending, dissatisfied, or starving priests. Legal redress there was none, in a country where every baron considered his extensive lands as peculiarly “his castle.” It will readily be inferred what kind of clergy sprung up under these circumstances. There was no Popish theological seminary of any kind in Bohemia, and many of the priests were destitute of the most elementary knowledge. Monasteries were nearly empty, and the ignorance or dissoluteness of the priesthood made them an object of contempt to their own co-religionists. The state of the Calixtine clergy was little if any better; almost all of them had purchased Popish ordination by perjury, and were ready to follow the nobles whithersoever circumstances pointed. Their Protestantism was mainly a negative thing, destitute of spiritual life. But, before his death, the old Emperor had taken three measures which promised much for the revival of the Romish cause. The first of these was the appointment of a liberal, but zealous, man to the see of Prague; by the second he had obtained the papal sanction for the celebration of the Eucharist *sub utraque*; the third and most hopeful, was the introduction of the Jesuits. The rapid spread of that order, whose avowed objects were the conversion of heretics, and the re-establishment of the papal authority, and their untiring activity and energy, are equally remarkable. Sanctioned on 27th September 1540, they had before the year 1576, in Ger-

many alone, five colleges, two missionary seminaries, and numbered 142 regular members. While desirous of reforming the outward demeanour of the Church and of her representatives, they yet knew, with an unscrupulous determination, to adapt themselves to all classes and circumstances. With the great they were lax or rigorous as they saw desirable; among the people they were liberal to an extent to draw upon themselves the suspicion of Lutheran leanings; at the council-board they ever advocated a well-defined policy, with some definite aim in view to which they clung with unyielding tenacity; in war they urged decisive and energetic measures, and when need was could gird the steel armour over the monk's cassock. They began by confirming their own adherents,<sup>1</sup> and combining the forces of the Papacy; by training able combatants, watching political combinations, fomenting sectarian discord among the Protestants, and everywhere sowing the seeds of mutual distrust. Nothing escaped their attention; they taught, preached, disputed, flattered, threatened, calumniated. A whole flood of politico-religious tractates poured from their presses, with the object of preparing for the great struggle, now manifestly impending. The Jesuits were brought to Bohemia in 1552. The Calixtines soon felt the effects of their presence. The Jesuits were not afraid to meet them in public discussion; they also took care to keep the party to the *Compactates*, as its only distinctive confession. Now that an archbishop was in Prague, and the communion *sub utraque* had been granted, it was evident the Calixtines must either get rid of these Compactates, or Utraquism perish. Had Ferdinand lived, the question would soon have been decided, but happily the government was now in very different hands.

Speculations and wishes, however natural in the student of history, read almost like a libel on Providence; they give way before a devout consideration of the ways of God, and an enlarged view of a period. What, if Maximilian had realized the hopes of the Protestants? Nay—it would have needed a stronger hand than his, above all it would have required a vastly different state of matters in the Protestant Church to have given the

<sup>1</sup> Among these measures we attach chief importance to the establishment of Academies, and the composition of the first Popish Catechism by the Jesuit Canisius.

gospel to the world, and true national greatness to Germany! There was a curious discord about Maximilian II., which clung to his person, to his acts, and even to his family. In heart a Protestant, he had gradually receded from the profession which as a youth he had made. Decidedly liberal in sentiment, and ready to the full to carry out the principle that "man could only command the outward man, while God alone ruled over the conscience," he was still the favourite of Charles V., and married his daughter, a princess so bigoted, that the Jesuits would have put her into the Calendar, even before her death. Under her influence he allowed his sons to be imbued with their principles. Despite the Pope's threats,<sup>1</sup> he accorded the fullest measure of religious liberty to the Austrian Protestants;<sup>2</sup> yet he favoured the Jesuits, and had but very rarely the courage to carry out his own benevolent intentions. To complete the inconsistency, while his son-in-law, Charles IX. of France, sanctioned the butcheries of St. Bartholomew, he exchanged letters with one of his councillors, on the desirableness of substituting Protestantism for the religion of Rome.<sup>3</sup> Weakness and vacillation marked the Bohemian administration of Maximilian: he would not allow any persecution, but neither would he grant the secure enjoyment of religious liberty. The only measure approaching *legal* recognition of Protestantism, was the permission accorded in 1569 to the Utraquist Estates, to erase the *Compactates*,<sup>4</sup> which had hitherto proved so effectual a barrier to the legalisation of Protestantism. But the virtual abolition of Utraquism did not yet imply the accomplishment of their wishes, and in 1570, Maximilian positively refused to sanction the *Augsburg Confession* as the symbol of Protestant Bohemia. The conduct of the Emperor is fully explained by the circumstance

<sup>1</sup> "Pontificem omnibus execrationibus, ecclesiasticisque pœnis in eum animadversurum, ipsumque privaturum Imperatoria Majestate, atque catholicis Principibus in eum convocatis novum Imperatorem creaturum."

<sup>2</sup> In 1571, religious liberty was guaranteed; in 1574, three churches were assigned to the Protestants in Vienna.

<sup>3</sup> On this subject General Schwendi addressed a most interesting letter to Maximilian. See this letter in Gieseler, *Kirchengesch.* iii. 1, p. 399, note 13. See also the reply of the Emperor, in Vehse, vol. i. p. 122.

<sup>4</sup> *Die andere Apologia der Stände d. König, Böhmeib, so den Leib u. Blut unseres H. u. Heil. Jesu Christi unter beider Gestalt empfahlen. Aus d. Böh. Spr. in d. Teutsche versetzt* (1619). App. No. 10, p. 130.

that the proposed union would only have been nominal, not real, as the "Brethren," under the leadership of Blahoslav, were not by any means prepared to surrender their separate existence. But already the shadow of coming events fell on the "Union." On the 14th April 1570, the various Protestant bodies in Poland—Lutherans, Calvinists, and Brethren—had signed a minute (the *Consensus Sandomirienses*),<sup>1</sup> in which, while retaining their separate confessions and corporate existence, they agreed on a common basis of faith and co-operation. This step was soon to be followed in Bohemia. Under the successors of Blahoslav in the seniorate, the Union approximated more and more closely to Calvinism. The intercourse with Beza and others became regular, and the theological students of the Brethren repaired no longer to Wittenberg, but to Heidelberg and to Geneva.

It is painful to notice the intrigues which took place at the Diet of 1575, at which the long-proposed union of Bohemian Protestants at last took place. The original plan of the Utraquist leaders had been to adopt the Augsburg Confession, and to oblige the "Brethren" to conform. When foiled in this, it was agreed to draw up a new confession, in which many of the views of the Union were ultimately embodied; and to preface it by a petition bearing that these articles of common belief proved the agreement of the Protestants, and encouraged them to ask Imperial sanction for their new symbol and for that of the Brethren. Had it not been for the jealous care of the latter, the clean copy of this petition would, however, have read very differently from its draft. The Confession itself (drawn up by Dr. Pressius and Mag. Crispin) contained twenty-five chapters, discussing as many articles of faith.<sup>2</sup> It only appeared in German translation in 1619.<sup>3</sup> It will be believed that this step raised no small commotion among the enemies of Protestantism. The Pope condemned the new confession; the Reactionaries fulminated against it in their pulpits; the Jesuits and their tools in the Diet, while professing to remain neutral, did all in

<sup>1</sup> Count Valerian Krasinski, *Historical Sketch of the Reformation in Poland*, vol. i. p. 383, &c.

<sup>2</sup> For an abstract of it, see *Reform. and Anti-Reform.*, vol. i. pp. 108-111.

<sup>3</sup> For an account of it, comp. *Hist. of the Boh. Persec.*, pp. 108-110.



their power to oppose it. As usually, the Emperor changed his mind four or five times as to the answer to be given to the Protestants. On one point only he remained consistent—in the absolute refusal to sanction their proposal by a law. He gave them—alone, and in presence of Rodolph his son and heir—the most absolute promises of assent and protection, and allowed the appointment of a certain number of “*defenders*,” who should watch both over the security of these assurances and over the establishment of the new church.<sup>1</sup> More than this the Estates could not obtain, and the result soon showed how little had been gained. No sooner had Maximilian left Prague than a fresh edict against the Brethren and an order to the free or royal cities to submit to the authority of the Reactionary party showed to what influences he had again yielded. Remonstrances, threats, and entreaties, were equally fruitless,<sup>2</sup> and matters began to assume a very serious aspect when the removal of Maximilian II. placed the government into the hands of a son who had all the bad without any of the good qualities of his father. The Emperor had always been delicate; he died at the comparatively early age of fifty, in consequence of quack medicines administered to him during a severe fit of gout, not without the suspicion of foul play. To his second son Matthias, the dying Emperor said, “I hope to be saved through the mercy of God and the merits of Christ. I have confessed all my sins to *Christ*, and rely on His sufferings and death; I am sure my sins are forgiven, and I need nothing else.” At last he allowed the Bishop of Neustadt to converse with him, but only on biblical subjects. When the prelate spoke of the atonement and merits of Christ, and asked “Whether his majesty would live or die on that?” Maximilian fervently replied, “Yes; and not otherwise.” Thus expired the most just and mild emperor whom the house of Hapsburg had produced. Of his nine sons, two—Rodolph, and after him, Matthias—succeeded their father; the rest died either unmarried or without leaving issue. After them the honours of the house of Hapsburg were to devolve on Ferdinand II. (the son of Charles of Styria, brother to Maximilian II.), the bigoted pupil and favourite of the Jesuits.

<sup>1</sup> See the speech of the Emperor, in *Die andere Apologia*, App. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. the remonstrances of the “Defenders,” *ut supra*, App. 13.

It is difficult to characterize the reign of Rodolph, or to say whether indolence, cunning, or madness, had most share in his misrule. Shut up in his castle of Prague with astronomers, astrologers, and mechanics, he was scarcely accessible to any except in the royal stables, the scene of his frequent debauches. The affairs of Germany or of Bohemia were systematically and entirely neglected, and only threats could extort from the imperial madman concessions which he soon afterwards repented and retracted. Withal, he was a pupil of the Jesuits, and would fain have let them have their way of it if their opponents had only been quiet. So long as the Estates submitted, all went as the most ardent admirers of Rome could have wished. The popish clergy interfered in all concerns; Utraquists were hailed before unjust judges, imprisoned or expelled, and every indignity heaped upon Protestants. In 1602, an edict appeared against the Brethren, followed by another in 1603, against the "Calvinists."<sup>1</sup> Almost every month witnessed fresh instances of aggression. Of course, the late acts of Maximilian had put an end to the proposed new church of Bohemia. Now, the Archbishop of Prague refused to ordain Utraquist priests unless they took an oath by which they implicitly submitted to the papal see.<sup>2</sup> Churches were closed, priests deposed, the rites of marriage, baptism, or burial, refused to Protestants; nothing might be printed without permission of the Popish clergy. It is impossible to say how far these measures would have proceeded had not disunion in the imperial family given the Protestants an opportunity of making a successful resistance. The imperial princes had long witnessed with displeasure Rodolph's incapacity. They now regarded with dread his marked preference for his cousin Leopold, the lawless bishop of Passau. By a "family-treaty" (25th April 1606)<sup>3</sup> they resolved gradually to strip him of his possessions. A beginning was to be made with Hungary and Austria, and for this purpose Matthias advanced against Prague at the head of an army. Under these circumstances the Emperor resolved to conciliate his Bohemian estates. Thirty-six grievances embodied their complaints,<sup>4</sup> to which the Emperor replied by promises of redress

<sup>1</sup> See these edicts, *ut supra*, App. 15.

<sup>2</sup> See this oath, *ut supra*, App. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Goldastus, *ut supra*, p. 223.

<sup>4</sup> *Die andere Apologia*, pp. 151-160.

at the approaching Diet of 1609. On this the Estates entered upon a solemn agreement,<sup>1</sup> in which they insisted on fulfilment of the promises made by Maximilian in 1575, and on obtaining the superintendence of the university and of the clergy. But no sooner had Rodolph made peace with his brother than reactionary measures began. On 16th June 1608, a royal decree ordered the attendance of the magistracy, the trades, and the university of Prague, at the procession of "Corpus Christi" day.<sup>2</sup> This was followed by an ordinance (dated 23d Jan. 1609), in which the Utraquist consistory are enjoined, in the spirit of the Compactates, to enforce conformity to the Roman Church.<sup>3</sup> The Diet also is met with threats, and Rodolph even formally disowns the promises of 1575.<sup>4</sup> But the Estates remain firm, and disperse without voting the royal propositions. Meantime, deputations are sent to Matthias and to the leading Protestant princes of Germany. In May, the deputies reassemble, in no mood for trifling. An imperial decree, affixed to the town-hall, interdicts their meeting. "Turned upside down it reads differently," quietly remarks one of the lords as he enters the hall. Nor will a few soldiers keep an indignant people in check. All Prague is in a ferment. Ten thousand armed burghers keep watch over the meetings of the Estates, and will force all to swear fealty to the Diet. It is now the Emperor's turn again to parley and to yield. The Diet is immediately convoked for the 25th May;<sup>5</sup> but in the short interval another attempt will be made against Protestantism. Leopold of Passau has arrived in Prague, and at his suggestion a fresh resistance is to be attempted. The Diet is informed that the Emperor will adhere to the Compactates. A dangerous game this, for now even the Popish Estates—with the exception of the three imperial or rather Jesuit councillors, Lobkowitz, Martinitz, and Slavata (the latter a renegade "Brother," who has sold his faith for a rich bride)—have joined the Liberals. Silesian deputies, also, have come to Prague with grievances similar to those of the Bohemians, and the two nations have agreed to lend each other, if need be, armed aid. They enlist troops and appoint thirty "Defenders" of their faith. In Germany, also, the clash of arms is heard. The provocations of the Popish party,

<sup>1</sup> *Ut supra*, App. 17.<sup>2</sup> *Ut supra*, App. 26.<sup>3</sup> *Ut supra*, App. 18.<sup>4</sup> K. A. Menzel, *ut supra*, vol. v. pp. 412-414.<sup>5</sup> *Die andere Apol.*, App. 25.

incited by the Jesuits, has led to the formation of a new Protestant Union (<sup>2</sup><sub>12</sub> May 1608), under the leadership of the Elector Palatine, which is opposed by a "Holy League" (<sup>20</sup><sub>10</sub> June <sup>July</sup> 1609), headed by the Jesuit monarch of Bavaria. Under such pressure, Rodolph reluctantly signed a so-called "Letter of Majesty" (12th July 1609), which granted amplest liberty of conscience, sanctioned the appointment of Defenders of the Faith, and handed over to the Diet the superintendence of the university and of the clergy.<sup>1</sup>

The announcement that the long-desired charter of liberty had at last been obtained was received by the Diet with shouts of joy; then all present offered up solemn thanks, and joined in hymns of praise. Before separating, other three resolutions were passed, with the view of placing on a firm basis their newly acquired rights. The first<sup>2</sup> arranged the government of the church of "Bohemian Christians, *sub utraque*" (as it was now called). The Confession of 1575 was to remain the common basis, which every candidate for the ministry should subscribe. The supreme guidance of religious affairs was intrusted to a consistory, composed of an Administrator (or president), five priests (to represent the liberal Utraquists), a Senior and two Unionist priests, and three professors of the university. Utraquist candidates were to be ordained by the Administrator, Unionists by the Senior, with the assistance of the Administrator. Neither party was to interfere with the other in the exercise of discipline, or in the administration of internal affairs. Over all the interests of the Protestant Church, the "Defenders" were to watch as ultimate arbiters, with power to call in the aid of the Utraquist councillors of the Emperor, and of representatives from every shire. The second resolution of the Diet<sup>3</sup> contained articles of mutual agreement between the Protestant and the Papist Estates, in which the utmost liberty of conscience was acceded to the subjects of temporal lords, and to the inhabitants of royal and other cities. By an unaccountable oversight, special mention had, however, not been made of the rights of those who lived on the domains of the clergy, though, without doubt, the Estates had meant to include them in their agreement. An

<sup>1</sup> See this document, *ut supra*, App. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Ut supra*, App. 28.

<sup>3</sup> *Ut supra*, App. 29.

important omission this, which will become the occasion of the Bohemian Revolution of 1618, and of the Thirty Years' War itself. We say the *occasion* of it; the causes lay much deeper, and cannot have escaped the attentive reader. Lastly, the Diet drew up a general amnesty, containing expressions of mutual good-will.<sup>1</sup> All these documents Lobkowitz, Martinitz, and Slavata refused to homologate, on pretence that they bore on religious subjects. The estates at first intended to depose from their offices the refractory councillors, but ultimately contented themselves with a strong protest.<sup>2</sup>

Thus religious liberty had been secured to Bohemia. Yet a hollow truce this, which had no other guarantees than the weakness of Rodolph, and the real or supposed strength of the Utraquist estates. The time was coming when a street riot and Diet resolutions would no longer suffice for the preservation of Protestant liberties; when the motives of every man would be thoroughly tested and sifted; when every want of *real principle* would prove a breach through which the citadel of Bohemian liberty and religion might be stormed;—a time this, when only the positive not the negative aspect of Protestantism will be a wall of defence. Even before then, what elements of strife! The Jesuits are still supreme; Lobkowitz, Martinitz, and Slavata hold the reins of government, and wait for the coming man. Already Archduke Charles has protested against “the Letter of Majesty,” in so far as it applies to his Silesian subjects. Soon Leopold of Passau will reappear in Prague with his wild soldiers, to see whether Rodolph has courage to strike a blow. Neither Rodolph nor his brother and successor Matthias have the courage. But in Styria rules with iron hand one who has already put an end to “heresy” in his own dominions.<sup>3</sup> A decree (of date 12th Sept. 1602)<sup>4</sup> has banished Protestantism from Styria; and a few months after “the Letter of Majesty” had been signed, he declares<sup>5</sup> that “he will rather risk everything” than draw back from his Counter-Reformation. Before the

<sup>1</sup> *Ut supra*, App. 31.

<sup>2</sup> *Ut supra*, App. 33.

<sup>3</sup> *Deductio, warum Kaiser Ferdinandus II. des Regiments im Königreich Böhmen verlustigt.* *Vide* App. “The Persecutions in Styria,” by the Dean of Stayntz.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* the Decree, *ut supra*, pp. 100-104.

<sup>5</sup> *Vide* the Decree, *ut supra*, pp. 104-110.

shrine of Mary, Ferdinand II. has vowed to exterminate all "heresy;" and terribly will he pay this vow in Austria, in Bohemia, and in Germany—until he fall. And when he falls, the torch of burning cities shall light him to his grave, and the groans of the dying, the moans of the bereaved, shall chant his requiem.

But as yet there is joy in Prague and in all Bohemia! The thick veil of time hangs over the blood-stained future.<sup>1</sup>

## POSTSCRIPT.

The reader is requested to remember that the foregoing professes to be a "Historical Essay"—not a detailed history. Perhaps it may also be necessary to add, that the writer had intended to continue his narrative to the commencement of the Thirty Years' War, recounting the great Bohemian Revolution, the marriage of the youthful Elector Palatine with the Princess Royal of England (daughter of James I.), their brief reign in Bohemia, the bloody vengeance of Ferdinand II. and the suppression of the liberties and of the religion of Bohemia. The subjoined list of books gives an account of the various authorities which have been studied—both for that part of the Essay which now appears in print, and for the other section which the limits assigned to the writer have prevented him from giving to the public.

Leop. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch. im Zeitalter d. Reform*, 5 vols. (ed. 1852).

K. A. Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, the first 5 vols.

<sup>1</sup> We may take the present opportunity of adverting to the supposed connexion between the Waldenses and the Brethren. From the sixteenth century, when Flacius grew angry because the Bohemians would not be persuaded that their doctrines were derived from the Waldensians, down to the late work of Dr. Muston (Transl. by Montgomery: Blackie, 1858), who, vol. i. pp. 99, 100, with equal ease and inaccuracy, speaks of the Bohemian pastors as receiving instruction from the Vaudois, and somewhat vaguely refers to a fraternal letter from the Bohemian churches, much needless ingenuity has been devoted to this hypothesis. The truth, however, is—the "Brethren" did *not* derive their doctrines from the Vaudois. On the contrary, some of the Waldensian writings are translations of Tractates of the Brethren. German Waldensians, indeed, settled in Bohemia; but, with the exception of rare intercourse, and a journey of Senior Lucas to Italy, from which, however, he returned dissatisfied with the Vaudois, we cannot discover any connexion between them.—Comp. Gindely, *ut supra, passim*; and Polentz, *Gesch. d. Franz. Calvin*, pp. 79, 80.

274 *Bohemian Reformers and German Politicians.*

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GRAMMAR SCHOOLS.

BY

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## GRAMMAR SCHOOLS.

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IN the recent discussions on Scottish University Reform, the subject of our grammar schools has scarcely received the attention it merits. It will not be denied that the relations of the grammar school to the university are so intimate that we can scarcely remodel the one without considering the bearing of these reforms on the other. Ere we lay additional weight on the edifice, we must see that the substructure can bear it. We readily grant to Professor Blackie the present advantage to the University of Edinburgh, of college tutors employed to supply existing defects. Still, these appear to us rather as buttresses erected to prop up a tottering edifice than as the natural supports of a thorough university system. In point of fact, in all the countries of Europe, where the cultivation of learning is now conducted to its greatest height, secondary instruction has been the subject of careful study, the gymnasia have been re-organized on principles adapted to the progress of classical science, and the reforms effected in these have occupied even a more prominent place than any changes in the university system. On the Continent, State aid has been needed in Prussia, France, and other countries, to effect these. In the English grammar schools it has been the result of internal reforms. Who needs to be told of the remarkable impulse given not only to learning, but to the moral and religious discipline of English youth by the labours of Arnold, Tait, Vaughan, and other masters of the great English schools?

In discussing the subject of grammar schools, we are, so far as we know, breaking up fallow ground. It appears to us suitable, in these circumstances, to study the question historically.

University education has in our day led to important historical investigations, the results of which have furnished the safest methods of reform. Grammar schools deserve similar research. We can authentically trace their history backward for at least a thousand years, to a period long antecedent to the great mediæval universities. The antiquity of the grammar school may thus plead in its favour against those rash educationists who declaim so bitterly against Greek and Latin. It may also suggest to its supporters that like ancient edifices the grammar school needs from age to age repair and reform to adapt it to the progress of learning. We shall claim, in this historical inquiry, some forbearance. We have not, as the university reformers, a Bulæus or a Mainzer to aid us by their learned researches in the study of the grammar school.

We shall not discuss at any length the question how far the modern grammar school can trace its origin to classical times. There existed undoubtedly, from an early period, schools of learning among the Greeks. But these could scarcely be called grammar schools. The Greek despised every other tongue than his own. The great orators and poets of Greece must, indeed, have studied deeply the genius of their plastic and powerful tongue, yet this could scarcely have been by grammatical methods. The developed idea of the science of grammar must imperfectly belong to those who know only their vernacular tongue. Grammar could not have been thus to the Greek, as to us, the means of high mental culture.

It is to the Roman Grammatici we must look as the first who taught on grammatical principles. They studied Greek as we do Latin. It is to the sedulous study of Greek literature that Rome owed its highest poetry and oratory. Virgil is almost a translator from the Greeks. Cicero repaired to Athens to finish his rhetorical education. We find thus grammar schools early established at Rome, but afterwards by the emperors gradually planted in all the most famous cities of the empire. To the Grammatici modern learning owes much. They were the chief copyists of the Greek and Roman classics. We are indebted to their criticism and choice for the works of those classical writers which have come down to us. It may be made, indeed, a question whether as a class the Grammatici ever died out in Europe.

Lord Macaulay has justly observed regarding Italy, "The night which descended upon her was the night of an Arctic summer. The dawn began to re-appear before the last reflection of the preceding sunset had faded from the horizon."<sup>1</sup> We know that the Grammatici flourished in the middle ages in the Greek Empire, and it is probable that in the Neapolitan provinces recognising the Greek Empire, eastern knowledge was preserved till the dawn of modern letters.

But so far as history guides us, it is not to Italy or to the Grammatici we owe the grammar school. The first great religious and educational impulses of the middle ages, were unquestionably not of classical, but of Celtic or Saxon origin. The first glimmer of light twinkles upon us from the Irish monasteries, so early as the seventh century. The *Life of Columba*, by Adamnanus, is a proof that, if their Latinity was not very pure, the language was still written fluently. Mr. Reeves, in his very learned and valuable *Notes on this life*, has shown that the rules of these societies bear much analogy to those of the Benedictine order, and are favourable to learning. It was a regulation with them that no time should pass not occupied either in prayer, or reading, or writing, or in some other work. Even their bishops engaged in the transcription of manuscripts, and deemed it honourable to add to their titles, "*Vir Lectionis*," or the Scribe. As a proof of their learning, we find Columbanus, who with others left the shores of Ireland for the Continent, so esteemed in Italy as a scholar, that he was placed at the head of the Benedictine College of Bobbio. It is an interesting fact, also, in connexion with the subject we are considering, that the first grammar school in Scotland, of which we have traces, existed (1124 A.D.) at Abernethy, one of the early and principal seats of the Culdees.

But the efforts of the Irish monasteries were principally turned to missionary labours, and if they aided the cause of learning it was chiefly indirectly, as with the modern evangelist. We owe to Saxon England, at this period, the maintenance and promotion of grammatical learning. While, under the later Merovingian period, all continental Europe, north of the Alps, was reduced to a state of barbarism, learning flourished under

<sup>1</sup> *Critical and Historical Essays*, by T. B. Macaulay, vol. i. p. 63.

the Saxon rule of England, and its schools attracted students from the Continent. Here, on the fertile banks of the Ouse, under the lofty walls of York, we find the most celebrated of these early Saxon grammar schools. Alcuin, who became afterwards the most distinguished master of the age, was educated at this seminary, and for a time presided over it. It was from this school he afterwards, at the pressing solicitation of Charlemagne, crossed to France. That great man, whose early education had been defective, was not ashamed to receive instructions from Alcuin in the art of grammar. The royal Pepin was also placed under the care of Alcuin, as his scholasticus. It was under the direction of Alcuin that the Palatine school was established, and endowed by Charlemagne, to serve as a model institution to the empire. It is to this school we can very directly trace the origin of that great mediæval institution of learning—the University of Paris.

The writings of Alcuin show that he possessed a considerable acquaintance with Latin, but his taste could not have been very correct, when he banished Cicero and Virgil from his seminary, to give place to Jerome and Augustine. He was evidently acquainted also, in some degree, with Greek and Hebrew. His method of instruction was not original, although his treatises are superior in matter and arrangement to the earlier grammarians, Cassiodorus and Capella. All knowledge—the “totum scibile”—is, according to the scholastic classification, divided into the seven arts. Cassiodorus assigns as a reason for this division into seven, the analogy of the seven lamps of the Spirit, and the seven pillars on which, according to Solomon, wisdom rears her house. In the Trivium—the arts of grammar, logic, and rhetoric—the laws of language are expounded. The Quadrivium, again, is supposed to embrace all the principles of science, under arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy.

Alcuin does not seem to have got beyond the trivium in his scholastic learning and teaching. We may say indeed that the learning of the middle ages was chiefly thus limited to logical verbalism.<sup>1</sup> The quadrivium, with its scientific realism, has flourished only since the rise of the Baconian philosophy. There is only one of the arts of the quadrivium, “musica,” which, we

<sup>1</sup> See Article, “National Education,” *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

have little doubt, was carefully taught in the Palatine school. We may be permitted, although a digression here, to notice that music formed, throughout the middle ages, a part of grammar school instruction. We find it surviving the Reformation, and by statute declared in our own country a part of grammar school education. Sang Scholes existed at Aberdeen, Glasgow, Cupar, Dundee, Elgin, Inverness, Brechin, &c. Why should this pleasing department of liberal education have fallen into abeyance? It is still cultivated in the gymnasia of Germany. Why should not this venerable art be restored to all our grammar schools, to mitigate a little the severities of ferular rule, and to render these institutions worthy their ancient pleasing appellation, "*ludi literarii*?"

Our readers will permit us another remark regarding Alcuin and his grammatical treatises. We discover in them the traces of that method of instruction originally, it may be, owing its origin to the acute Greek, but for the revival and development of which learning is indebted to the Christian Church. The ancient grammarians seem to have followed a diffuse rhetorical method of instruction, little adapted to exercise and train the minds of their pupils. The examination of the catechumens in the Christian Church led, on the other hand, almost necessarily, to a close, sifting catechetical method. We find this in the early Alexandrine school, and it pervades the teaching of the middle ages, at least, in the grammatical art. It is thus that Alcuin's instructions are imparted, often with considerable acuteness, and occasionally, as in his disputation with Pepin, with those quiet strokes of humour, with which, our recollections of a grammar school remind us, a good-natured scholasticus sometimes uses to enliven the dulness of grammar. We can thus early trace that tutorial method, the value of which in bringing the mind of master and pupil into lively contact, no educationist will deny. Whether we give to it the high place in the advancement of learning for which Drs. Whewell and Pusey contend or no, it is unquestionably the right method in the grammar school. We believe that one admitted reason in our day why many of the continental gymnasia do not realize all that their equipment in learned teachers might lead us to anticipate is, that there is wanting that active sympathy of feeling

betwixt master and pupil, and that enlivening system of sifting examination, which distinguishes the great English schools, and is a conspicuous characteristic of our own Scottish academies and burgh schools.<sup>1</sup>

We shall not fatigue our readers with a detailed history of the progress of the grammar school from Alcuin's time in the following centuries. We find the bishops at the Synod of Cressy, 858 A.D., extolling the discipline of the palatial schools. The Latinity imparted also gradually improved. Alcuin, we have seen, taught that the sacred poets were enough, and his pupils need not pollute themselves with the luxurious eloquence of Virgil's language. The study of the pure Classics gradually, however, became extended; by the end of the tenth century, Cicero and Quintilian were generally studied; and in the eleventh century, the monastery of Bec, in Normandy, became famous, under its illustrious master Lanfranc, for classical learning, and the purity with which the Latin language was spoken. We find now a division in the schools, which long continued to hold a place. Some were "Trivial" schools, limited to languages and cognate studies; others were completely equipped for instruction in all the arts. These embraced with the grammar scholar, other students probably further advanced. We give as an instance of a complete institution of this character, the following graphic account of the schools of Paderborn in the twelfth century:—"In Patherbornensi ecclesia publica floruerunt studia; quando ibi musici fuerunt et dialectici, enituerunt rhetorici, clarique grammatici; quando magistri artium exercebant trivium, quibus omne studium erat circa quadrivium; ubi mathematici claruerunt et astronomici, habebantur physici, et geometrici, viguit Horatius, magnus et Virgilius, Crispus ac Salustius et Urbanus Statius, Ludusque fuit omnibus insudare versibus, et dictaminibus jocundisque cantibus."<sup>2</sup>

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries formed a period remarkable in the history of mind, the traces of which are clearly marked in the progress of the grammar school. No knight-errant was ever more eager for joust and tournament than were the learned of

<sup>1</sup> We refer especially to the testimony of Mr. M'Corken, master of the Grammar School, Cupar Fife, on the Belgian grammars. We trust that his valuable work on education in Belgium and France, now in the press, will speedily be published.

<sup>2</sup> *The Dark Ages*, by the Rev. S. R. Maitland.

those times, amid hearers as eager as themselves, to grapple brain with brain in the theatre of the schools. Nor did the crusader venture greater hazards, than many a poor scholar risked in quest, at Oxford or Paris, of the "Perle of Knowledge." The immediate cause of this great mental movement was the introduction, by Arabic channels, of Aristotle to the West. We may venture to say that the dialectics of the Greek never found, even in the Lycæum, students more inquisitive and acute than among the subtle doctors of Oxford, Paris, and Cologne. With this new instrument of research, the "totum scibile" of the trivium and quadrivium underwent readjustment. The quadrivium fell into neglect, unless in the Arabic schools. The *Ars Grammatica* took a lower place, and the *Ars Dialectica* absorbed study. The principles of logic formed a battle-field for realist and nominalist, and the application of dialectics to the exposition and defence of religion opened up a new and wide field for the display of mental power and research. The names of Abelard, and Scotus, and Aquinas, and Ockham, the great expositors of the schools, will always be entitled to a place in the peerage of intellect.

This progress in knowledge rendered the organization of the earlier schools inadequate to meet the wants of learning. Their place was gradually taken by the *Studium Generale* or University. There are traces at Paris as early as the ninth century of a palatial school; but the organized university, with its large equipment of teachers, can be authentically traced back only to the eleventh century. It is the same at Oxford, where grammar schools existed in the ninth century, while the university dates from a later period than that of Paris. At Cambridge also, long before the foundations of the university were laid, there existed a cloistral school, under the direction of the monks of Croyland.

In these institutions all the branches of what we now call the higher or "Secondary Instruction" were embraced. There were none of those questions raised, almost we may say excessive, which German grammarians now discuss: At what age the studies of the lower gymnasium should end; or how far the course of the upper gymnasium should extend, prior to the entrance on the university. The very principle on which any classification existed, differed from that generally adopted in modern classical



education. As regards the study of Arts, the only modern institutions which resembled them, are the Scottish Universities. From the regulation of the University of Paris, quoted by Bulæus, that boys should not be admitted under twelve years of age to study Arts ; we learn how early the period was at which the student began his course. The Bachelor of Arts in those times was often scarcely older than the student who, in our day, matriculates at the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, or Berlin. The course of study in Humanity in the mediæval university was generally divided into six or seven classes, not unlike the arrangements of our higher modern academies.

But not only was the age early at which the study of Arts began. Grammar schools were also attached to the universities where the elements of classical knowledge were imparted. Wood enumerates ten such grammar schools at Oxford which, he says, were "for the most part very ancient," and many of them "had no reliance on a college or religious house." Bulæus informs us that there were halls in the University of Paris set apart for such scholars. In the great College of Navarre, we know particularly from the rules of the house, that grammar boys were admitted to its privileges, only not allowed to mix with the students of Arts.

It is only when we take this extent of instruction into consideration, that we can account for the prodigious numbers who thronged to Paris and Oxford in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. At Paris they exceeded in number the citizens of the capital. At Oxford there were assembled, according to the testimony of Richard of Armagh before the Pope at Avignon, at one period, thirty thousand students. Historians have explained this by the zeal for learning which marked these ages ; by the want of books which made the student more dependent on oral teaching ; by the number of dependants included—parchment-makers, illuminators, booksellers, surgeons, barbers, apothecaries, retainers of the young nobles ; but we must add to this the comprehensiveness of the education afforded, and the variety of age represented. Our Scottish colleges, with their motley groups of noisy juniors, ardent youths, grave-looking men who, after a hard battle with fortune, have fought their way to the university, may give us some conception of these mediæval institutions.

Only, the former are as marked by morals and good order, as the latter were frequently by the reverse. To complete the picture, we shall do no injustice to the generality of the early scholars of Paris and Oxford, if we imagine them brusque in manners and reckless in bearing, like the modern *Bursch* of Jena and Heidelberg :—

“ Full of strange oaths, and bearded like the pard ;  
Jealous in honour ; sudden and quick in quarrel.”

The scholastic period thus left its distinct traces on the grammar school. While admitted still to certain privileges in connexion with the university, the grammar school assumed more exactly its existing form. The *Ars Grammatica*, with its syntactic drill, was assigned almost exclusively to its care. The grammar scholar began also the study of the “*ars rhetorica*,” whose province it is to view the classics, not as a “*corpus vile*” for grammatical exercise, but in their higher literary and æsthetical relations. But this latter department of instruction must have been conducted only to a very limited extent in the early grammar school, from the age at which the scholar passed to the study of Arts ; in the later gymnasia, it was gradually increased, until all the elements of higher scholarship are now taught in the higher academies.

In passing from this period we would only add, that, for the reasons we have stated, a judgment based on the mere crowds who thronged in the thirteenth century to Paris or Oxford, compared with the number of under-graduates in modern universities, would give an unjust estimate of the extent of modern learning. For the same reason, it is equally unsatisfactory to determine, by mere numbers, the extent of learning in Scotland compared with England or Germany. It is only justice to remember, that the upper forms of the great English schools, and not only the *prima* but *secunda* (the highest classes) of a German gymnasium, carry scholarship, to say the least, as far as the classical attainments of the bulk of our Scottish students.

The equipment of the grammar school was yet very miserable. No Latin grammars of any value existed. The dictionaries, such as they were, made no distinction betwixt classical usage and later barbarisms. The study of classical idiom was despised ; and the pure Latin classics scarcely found an entrance into the

school, and many of them were yet unknown. The Greek language was a dead letter.

It was Italy that supplied these wants. To the genius of that highly-endowed and imaginative people the subtleties of logic were never attractive. It was classical Italy, not reformed Europe, which first branded the scholastic period as the dark ages. Poggio, one of the earlier scholars of Italy, discovered a number of Cicero's orations, a complete Quintilian, and other authors. Gasparin of Borgamo was so fortunate as to find Cicero *De Oratore*. Petrarch inspired his countrymen with his own passion for his favourite authors—Virgil and Cicero. Laurentius Valla, in his work *Elegantiarum Latini Sermomis*, opened up with much learning the distinctions of Latin syntax and synonymy. Politian wrote and spoke in the Latin language as it had not been heard since the days of Boethius. Boccaccio opened up the treasures of the Greek language. Chrysoloras was the first great teacher of the Greek tongue. In Florence, the first edition of *Virgil* was printed, 1472 A.D. "The spirit of literary research," says Lord Macaulay, "allied itself to that of commercial enterprise. Every place to which the merchant princes of Florence extended their gigantic traffic, from the bazaars of Tigris to the monasteries of the Clyde, was ransacked for medals and manuscripts."<sup>1</sup>

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, so widely spread was classical literature in Italy that there was scarcely a considerable city where public instruction was not furnished, both in the Latin and Greek languages. To Florence, however, belongs the honour of furnishing in that period the model institutions of classical learning. Six hundred students received within her walls a classical education under Politian and other distinguished masters. A school of Plato was founded for the exposition of his pure philosophy, and to outrival the hated Stagyrta. Politian tells us that Greek was not only read, but fluently spoken in the purest Attic forms in her schools. So high was the esteem for Florence that it seems to have been after her model Melanchthon later organized the distinguished gymnasium of Nuremberg.

The chief defects of the Italian classical schools seem to have

<sup>1</sup> Macaulay, *Essay on Machiavelli*.

been the want of a vigorous emulation and a sufficient discipline. As regards the latter, the Italian schools, even of the present day, are remarkable rather for the mildness than the vigour of their rule. The study of Cicero here, also, first assumed that undue prominence in classical learning which it so long maintained in the grammar schools, not only of Italy, but of Germany, England, and our own country. Even the sarcasms of Erasmus could not cure the learned of the Ciceronian passion: "Decem annos consumpsi in legendo Cicerone," to which echo replies in Greek—*ὄυε*.<sup>1</sup>

We pass from Italy. The rise of humane studies in Germany was mainly owing to one institution—the school of Deventer. This establishment was founded toward the close of the fourteenth century, and was conducted by the *Fratres Hieronymici*—a society remarkable for piety, mutual love, and learning. They united voluntarily as a society, and are not to be regarded as a monastic institution, "*Non assumi regulam, professionem non fieri, obedientiam nemini promitti, tantummodo in suis domibus pariter vivi; fecisse idem apostolos.*" It was happy for Germany that the revival of classical studies was under the direction of such a society, combining the sincerest love for the Scriptures, with a desire for classical learning, so earnest as to gain for the Brethren the honourable name of the "*Fratres Scholares.*" Italy forsook the schoolmen attracted to the classics by the ideal and the beautiful. The Ciceronian was often a scoffer; some even so infatuated by their passion for classical literature as to prefer the impurities of the Pantheon to the holiness of the Christian temple. The institution of Deventer was conducted on very different principles. The object of its teachers may be expressed in the language of Langius, one of its pupils: "*Ut tenebræ ex ecclesiis et scholis extirpentur et redeat puritas in ecclesias et mundities latini sermonis in scholas.*"<sup>2</sup>

Gerhardus Magnus ("Geert Groote") was the founder of this school. He was one who, in his youth, like Luther, had trying spiritual conflicts. Forsaking the schoolmen, the gospel became the object of his earnest study, and the mirror of his holy

<sup>1</sup> *Colloquies* of Erasmus.

<sup>2</sup> See Raumer's *Geschichte der Pädagogik*, a valuable work on the history of education.

life. He was the first who preached at Amsterdam in the vernacular tongue. Driven from this position by the hostility of the mendicant friars, he founded at Deventer the Society of the Brethren. The community was variously engaged; some occupied themselves in the transcription of manuscripts, and the first book ever printed in Holland came from the press of the Brethren; others devoted themselves to spread the knowledge of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue, as Gerhard von Zütphen, who, worn out with his evangelistic labours, died at the early age of thirty-one; some gave themselves to classical literature, as Hegius, Langius, Buschius, Dringenberg, and others. Some passed their lives in meditation and holy retirement. We owe to the cell of the Agnesberg, near Zwoll, where Thomas à Kempis spent seventy-one years of his life, the incomparable practical treatise *De Imitatione Christi*.<sup>1</sup>

Hegius was the most distinguished of the classical masters at Deventer. He seems to have possessed a rare gift of inspiring his pupils with a love for classical literature, and he was eager to introduce all the improvements of Italian philologists into his school. Mr. Hallam attributes to him a very rare and curious book, *Conjugationes Verborum Græcæ*, which contains the paradigm of the Greek verb *τίπτω*. He conjectures that Hegius may have obtained it from his learned friend Agricola, who seems to have visited Deventer on his return from Italy. If a pedagogue may be judged from the eminence of his scholars, none in modern times can compare with Hegius. Sir William Hamilton furnishes us with the following very exhaustive catalogue of his scholars:—"Desiderius Erasmus, Hermannes Buschius, Joannes Cæsarius, Joannes Marmellius, Joannes Glandorpius, Conradus Mutianus, Hermannes Torentinus, Bartholomæus Coloniensis, Conradus Goclenues, the Ædicollii, Joannes and Serratus, Jacobus Montanus, Joannes Peringius, Timannes Camenerius, Gerardus Lystrius, Matthæus Frissemius, Ludolphus Geringius, &c.; nor must Ortuinus Gratus be forgotten."<sup>2</sup>

Wesselius is another distinguished member of this community. He was named by his contemporaries "Lux mundi" and

<sup>1</sup> Hallam, *Introd. to Literature of Europe*, vol. i. p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> *Edin. Review*, March 1831—"Epistolæ obscurorum virorum."

"*Magister controversiarum*," to express their admiration for him as a divine. Wesselius anticipated in his teaching the great principles of the Reformation, maintaining that the doctrines of the Church are to be subordinated to the authority of Holy Scripture. Luther, when he came to know his writings, was struck with their similarity to his own, and confirmed in his principles by finding them so clearly enunciated in earlier times and by so holy a man.

The life of Wesselius illustrates how the holy earnestness of early German philologists contributed not only to the right regulation of classical study, but also to the extension of scholarship. Wesselius, that he might study the Scriptures in the original, not satisfied with Greek, mastered also the Hebrew tongue. At Rome, desired to ask some gift for his services, he begged and obtained from the Vatican a Greek and Hebrew Bible. At Paris, meeting with Agricola and Reuchlin, he inspired these distinguished scholars with the desire to study the Hebrew tongue. In his later years he exercised also much influence. Langius, Hegius, Reuchlin, Agricola, resorted often to the cloister of St. Edwards, near Groeningen, and spent not only weeks, but months there, that they might be instructed by the learning and edified by the piety of Wesselius.

The "*Fratres Hieronymici*" thus conferred on the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, the greatest services. These institutions of piety and learning numbered forty-five, and extended from the Scheldt to the Vistula. With the dawn of the Reformation they gradually disappear, the larger number of the Brethren embracing its principles. Like John the Baptist, they decrease, but the great principles for which they lived and strove go on increasing. They had inspired and trained men who were to win in Germany the battle of classical learning, and what was far higher, of Scriptural truth.

The beginning thus made in the schools of Deventer and Zwoll had for its final result the establishment in Germany, in the sixteenth century, of a system of classical education superior to the Italian, and as distinguished in the Europe of that age as the Prussian gymnasia are in the present day. This followed, indeed, a keen and long struggle. The patrons of scholasticism were in possession of the schools, and fought a hard battle to

retain their barbarous school-books,—the *Doctrinale* of Alexander, the *Disciplina Scholarum*, the *Catholicon*, &c. Humane studies in Germany had not the prestige they enjoyed in Italy from the presence of distinguished Greek scholars, the cultivated taste of the Italian princes, and the munificence of the great maritime cities. The progress the Humanists made in Germany was the more honourable. Langius introduced the study of the pure classics at Münster, and placed the institution under the care of Camenerius and Mürmelius, pupils of Hegius. Buschius fought many a brave battle with the schoolmen, with various success: in Erfurth, he succeeded in expelling their wretched school-books. Dringenberg founded a school at Schlettstadt in Alsace, which almost rivalled Deventer in the number of distinguished scholars it produced—Wimphelingius, Crato, Sapidus, Platter, Simler the teacher of Melanchthon. Erasmus aided the cause by his distinguished learning, especially by his *Colloquies*, a work expressly written by him for the use of grammar scholars. Although possessed of little of the holy earnestness of the German scholars, his valuable critical edition of the Greek text of the New Testament reminds us of Deventer, and the biblical training he had from Hegius. Agricola, the worthy rival of Politian in classical eloquence, contributed also to the cause. His letters to Hegius must have been very valuable at Deventer, furnishing, as they did, the explanation of many Latin and Greek synonyms. But, perhaps, the most distinguished name in this period yet remains. At least it was under the leadership of Reuchlin the last decisive battle was fought against the German Schoolmen. The Italians were delighted with Reuchlin's Latin oratory. He translated Thucydides with such accuracy and felicity at Rome, that the distinguished Greek, Argyropolos, exclaimed, "Greece had overflowed the Alps." When he returned to Germany he expounded to listening crowds Aristophanes, Thucydides, and other Greek authors. But as he said himself, his "*monumentum ære perennius*" was the first *Rudimenta Linguae Hebræicæ* published in modern times. It may mark the progress of Greek learning in Germany at a time when its rudiments were scarcely known in England or Scotland, that Reuchlin, on visiting the school of Simler at Pforzheim, found a young relative of his own, then in his tenth year, study-

ing Greek. He was so pleased with his progress, that he gave him what were then precious gifts—a Greek grammar and lexicon. And, according to the usage of those days, he translated for him his original name, Schwarzerd, into the more euphonious Greek Melanchthon.

We have now reached the period of the Reformation, which Luther himself acknowledges, followed up the leading of the Reuchlinists against the Schoolmen, as they strove to break “the teeth of the Behemoth.” The teaching of the “*Fratres Hieronymici*” was now popularized and made world-wide. Protestantism may be said to rest on two principles—practically, the doctrine of justification by faith; speculatively, the authority of the Scriptures. This latter stand-point gives rise to two necessary inferences—first, a popular education, which shall render accessible to every man the Sacred Scriptures in the vernacular tongue: secondly, a learned education, which shall enable the scholar to determine the original text, and exegetically to explain it on sound principles. The genius and piety of Luther taught him that the strength of his position as a reformer lay in the diffusion of these truths. Hence we find him, with an earnestness almost apostolic, sending greeting to the cities of Germany, urging upon the magistracy to see that all the young attended school; and exhorting the wealthier burghers to give their sons a learned education, and thus to furnish to the church a highly-educated ministry. Characteristically, Luther urges this higher study, that the preacher of the gospel, thus acquainted with right exegesis, may not err with the Fathers, from their ignorance in the interpretation of Holy Writ. Luther specifies in his writings various books to be used in the grammar school—the *Pædologia Moselani*, *Æsop*, *Ovid*, *Terence*, *Plautus*, *Virgil*, *Cicero*, &c. He also enjoins that the *Ars Musica* be diligently taught in the schools.

Luther thus helped the cause of the Humanists. But it was to Melanchthon, Germany gave the honourable title *Præceptor Germaniæ*. He richly merited this. At an early age he published at Tübingen, where he studied, an improved edition of *Virgil*. As a Master of Arts, he read with his pupils there *Virgil* and *Cicero*. Like *Politian* at Florence, he expounded also, in Greek, *Aristotle*, and sought to vindicate the *Stagyrite* from the



absurd blunders of the Schoolmen, who knew his works only in Latin. The impulse to learning which Melanchthon gave at Wittenberg, it is difficult to describe. He had students from England, Poland, Hungary, Denmark; let us not forget to add our countryman, John Erskine of Dun. We can with difficulty credit the audiences that listened to Melanchthon. It recalls the palmy days of the Schoolmen under Abelard and Scotus. Heerbrand says, "*Discipulos habuit et auditores singulis temporibus plerumque bis mille.*"

Melanchthon thus aided the cause much. His first address at Wittenberg was an eloquent defence of classical learning in Greek and Latin. His grammars of Greek and Latin long held their place as the best. In these he urged the importance of grammatical studies, as the basis of all correct knowledge of the ancient classics. From Wittenberg also were sent forth most of the eminent masters of Melanchthon's age. Cameraarius, who was Rector of Nuremberg Academy, with Hesus his colleague, were students of his. Neander, of whom we may say to our provincial teachers, that like them he had no assistant, was a favourite pupil of Melanchthon; and sent from his school at Ilfeld to the German universities, some of the most distinguished Greek scholars of the age. Trotzendorf, the eminent master of the grammar school at Goldberg, studied also at Wittenberg. He introduced into his school a system of discipline similar to the sixth English form, by which the older scholars form the *μεινται* between the masters and the younger pupils. The fashion of this government with Trotzendorf was after the Roman model, with its senators, consuls, and censors; he, as a wise pedagogue, retaining in his own possession the office of perpetual dictator in the school. It is pleasing to know that these distinguished teachers were also Christian men. Neander died repeating the words of the Psalmist, "God is the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever." Trotzendorf, like Dr. Arnold, died in the midst of his work. One day in school the stroke of death smote him, and looking up, he touchingly said, "*Ego vero auditores nunc avocor in aliam scholam.*"

The gymnasium at Strasburg, under the rectorship of Sturm, was the most distinguished classical school of the Reformation period. It was organized under the care of this distin-

guished master, and opened in 1538 A.D. Few of the great schools of modern times equal it in the number of their scholars. In 1578, Sturmius had a thousand scholars under his care; among whom were two hundred youths of noble birth, twenty-four counts and barons, three princes. Portugal, Poland, Denmark, England, as well as France and Germany, contributed pupils to the institution.

Sturmius appears, from the accounts of contemporaries, to have been a model master of a great school—earnest in countenance, yet amiable in manners—having a clear conception of what work his scholars should accomplish, and carrying out his general conception vigorously in the details of school instruction. Sturmius, like every great public master, was more than a mere pedagogue. He enjoyed the friendship of many of the most learned men of his day,—Erasmus, Melancthon, Bucer, our own Buchanan. He took an active part in the religious movements of his age, and was a follower of Calvin, who was preacher at Strasburg during the earlier period of Sturmius' residence as rector. The unhappy difference of the Lutherans and the Reformed, compelled him at last, after forty-five years' service, to resign the office he had so long and worthily held.

Sturmius has by various treatises, especially one, *De Literarum Ludis Recte Instituendis*, furnished us with the details of his educational plans. Hallam observes, that if the scheme of classical education which he has here laid down may be considered as one actually in use, there was a solid structure of learning erected in the early years of life which none of our modern academies would pretend to emulate. "It serves," he adds, "as a test of the literary pre-eminence of Germany."<sup>1</sup>

We cannot enter particularly on the details of the programme of classical education introduced by Sturmius. It is interesting, however, in its relation to the modern grammar school to have some general idea of the best classical methods of the sixteenth century. In the plan of Sturmius what first strikes attention, is the early age at which classical studies are begun. The boy enters the grammar school when six years old, and studies Latin with the alphabet. Not only is no previous instruction in the vernacular tongue assumed, but there is no provision in the

<sup>1</sup> Hallam, *Introd. Lit. Europe*, vol. i. pp. 466, 467.

grammar school to teach it as a subsidiary study. Geography is similarly neglected; arithmetic and geometry taught only in the highest classes. There is thus no room left for those institutions preparatory to the grammar school, which form now so invaluable a part of our Scottish education. Many branches are neglected, which, however highly we may value classics, are esteemed indispensable in our modern education. Secondly, the gymnasium of Sturmius furnished a more lengthened course of instruction than we believe to have been usual at that period. A boy continued to study classics at school from the age of six to sixteen. Unlike our Scottish system, grammar school education occupied the longer period, and the studies of the university were shortened. We now see a similar division adopted in every country of Europe, where learning flourishes. May we not add that the arrangements of our own highest gymnasia—the High School and Academy, Edinburgh—are founded on the same principle. Thirdly, we find in this large school the *Decuriones*, occupying a place in the discipline of the school similar to the *Præpostors* of an English school, but with this addition, that, like Professor Pillans' monitors in the High School, they seem to have been employed in the instruction of the younger pupils. Lastly, the programme of Greek and Latin differed from the arrangements of the modern gymnasium. But to estimate this justly, we must consider that the objects contemplated were not the same. We now study Greek and Latin as dead languages. If facility in Latin composition and verse-making is still valued, it is to enable the scholar better to appreciate the excellencies of the Classics. We have abandoned the idea of reviving Greek or Latin as living tongues. On the other hand, in the sixteenth century, the whole plans of such a school as Strasburg, were formed on the design of restoring the Latin tongue as the living language of learning, eloquence, and poetry. Nor can we wonder at this in an age when Latin eloquence flourished, and the "*delitiæ poetarum*"—especially we may add the poems of George Buchanan—were composed with elegance and beauty. It is these considerations which explain many of the arrangements of the Strasburg gymnasium—the disregard of the vernacular tongue, the prominence given in all the classes to Cicero, the neglect of Tacitus and Livy, the

extreme care devoted to verse-making, the arrangement for the weekly performance, as school-work by the higher boys, of the plays of Terence and Plautus. Greek, for the same reason, did not receive due study. Homer was too little read to be mastered, and the Greek orators, though the models of Tully, had not the place merited by the superior beauty and power of their compositions.

The gymnasium of Strasburg may serve as a specimen of the higher classical training of the period. The fame of Sturmius, as a teacher and editor of school-books, was widely extended. As an instance, we find his edition of the Select Epistles of Cicero prescribed in the curriculum of the High School of Edinburgh.<sup>1</sup> In Germany, the gymnasia of Sturmius and Trotzen-dorf were the model institutions after which the Protestant schools of Germany were founded.

The influence of these schools was wider even than Protestantism. A new order had sprung up in the Church of Rome, whose mission it was to resist Protestantism by its preaching, confessional, and science. The Jesuits gradually established in the Roman Catholic parts of Germany, in place of the Trivial schools, institutions of a high order. Sturmius, who made himself acquainted with their curriculum, says, that the method so closely followed his own as to appear to have been derived from the same source. The aim of the Jesuits, like Sturmius, was to make the Latin once more the living tongue of the learned, an object the more cherished, as it has been ever the ambition of Rome to win for the language of its liturgies and formularies the first place. The methods followed by the Jesuits were also similar, subsidiary branches being still less esteemed, and Greek comparatively neglected, that the boy might be able to comply with the three imperatives in Latin, "Lege, scribe, loquere." The Jesuits laid much stress also on the religious discipline of their schools. And had it been as with the *Fratres Hieronymici*, or with the Christian masters of our own day, by fostering youthful piety, by seeking to strengthen in the scholar the sense of Christian duty, and by stimulating to the earnest pursuit of Christian truth, these institutions would have merited much. But the confessional of the Jesuit was as little fitted to train the boy as

<sup>1</sup> See *History of the High School*. By W. Steven, D.D. App. p. 29.

the man to habits of simplicity and truth. Nor were the rewards which they ostentatiously bestowed on youthful habits of devotion fitted to encourage the religion of the conscience and the heart. The discipline of the school was conducted also on the same hateful principles as the society generally. Boy was yoked to boy, an intense emulation was encouraged, the unhappy effects of which Rousseau has described in his *Emile*; espionage was encouraged, and the frank life of youth was poisoned by mutual jealousy and distrust. With all this, the wily fathers, while moulding the youthful mind to their purposes, knew how to avert from themselves any odium of their system. Their discipline was mild. They seldom resorted to the *πρᾶτη ὕλη* of the rod, the associations of which render often the memory even of the worthiest pedagogue painful. If the difficulties of learning necessitated this *dernier ressort*, it was a rule that the corrector of the school should not belong to their order.

The German gymnasia have deserved our consideration as the model institutions of the Reformation period. But it may be well to look to the grammar school also in its original Saxon home. Before this period we discover the first traces in England of its great public schools. In 1373 A.D., Winchester was founded by William of Wykeham; Eton dates from 1442 A.D. Mr. Hallam informs us, that, like the ancient oak of England, Latin verses were rooted in the English grammar school centuries ago.<sup>1</sup> The verses of William Paston, an Eton school-boy of 1468 A.D., are still extant, not very good, of his own composition. This historical incident will, we doubt not, sweeten to the boys of Winchester, Rugby, and Eton, their well-practised vulguses. But we must look for any real progress in the English school to the century of the Reformation. The progress was now rapid. Linacre published at Oxford a grammatical treatise of considerable merit,—superior in some aspects even to the work of Laurentius Valla. The edition of his Grammar, published in Latin by George Buchanan, appears to us the most complete of that period which we have seen. The study of Greek began also to be enjoined. In the cathedral schools the head-master must be learned in Greek and Latin. In the institution of the grammar school of St. Paul's, it is directed "that the pupils be lerned in

<sup>1</sup> Hallam, *Introd. Lit. Europe*, vol. i. p. 227.

good and clene Latin literature, and also in Greek, if such may be gotten." The rudiments of the Greek language seem also to have been taught in Westminster, Eton, Winchester, and other public schools. In the rules of Harrow School, founded 1590 A.D., the books to be taught are enumerated, and comprise "some Greek orators and historians, as well as Hesiod."<sup>1</sup> But from the state of the English Universities in that century, we may learn that the study of Greek was not far advanced, at least till its close. Erasmus taught Greek in Cambridge in 1510 A.D., but his instructions were limited to grammar. At a later period we find three Greek classes formed at that University similar to those which still exist in our Scottish colleges. In the lowest, the rudiments of Greek were taught; in the middle class, the application of grammar to some easy author; in the highest alone, the more difficult Greek Classics.

It is at this period that, after a long twilight, a morning of rare promise dawned on Scotland. Grammar schools date, indeed, from a much earlier time. We find traces of these institutions in the twelfth century, at Abernethy, as we have stated already, at Perth, and Stirling. Long prior to the Reformation we find them established, generally under ecclesiastical direction,<sup>2</sup> in Aberdeen, Glasgow, Dunkeld, Edinburgh, Haddington. They were, indeed, until the establishment of the Scottish Universities in the fifteenth century, the only learned institutions Scotland possessed. So widely were grammar schools spread, and so valuable did they prove, that for their encouragement we find the legislature in 1496 passing an act requiring all barons and freeholders of substance to put their eldest sons to the school, "fra thai be eight or nine yeres of age, and to remain at the grammar schulis quhil thai be competentlie fundit and have perfit Latyne." "In them,"

<sup>1</sup> Hallam, *Introd. Lit. Europe*.

<sup>2</sup> We are indebted to Thomas Thomson, Esq., W.S., Edinburgh, for an interesting extract made by him from the records of the Canongate, which we regret our limits prevent us from publishing. The Master, William Robertoune, is expressly appointed in the room of the "Chanons," formerly in "peacibile possessione of teaching." Those "persouns" of the "Convent" being found "at the Reformatioun of the treu religioun, apt and meit for teaching, was appoynted to be ministers and pastoures at several kirkis furth of the said Burgh." This document is dated 20th Oct. 1579 A.D.

says Mr. Innes, "was taught that comprehensive grammatica which embraced a complete education in Roman literature."<sup>1</sup>

The statute which thus enjoins "perfit Latyne" makes no mention of Greek. The reason probably was, that Scotland had at the period no master of the Greek language. This highest element of classical education our country owes to John Erskine of Dun, a Scottish Baron, not more honourably distinguished by his birth, than by his learning, piety, and devotion to those great principles on which the Scottish Reformed Church was founded. Returning from his studies at Wittenberg and Paris, Mr. Erskine brought with him Pierre de Marsiliers, the first teacher of Greek in Scotland. The Montrose grammar school was the place of his labours—an institution which has the double honour, first of receiving royal patronage,<sup>2</sup> and secondly, of possessing a teacher of the Greek tongue.<sup>3</sup>

Marsiliers trained at Montrose a number of distinguished Greek scholars. Andrew Melville, who, at the arrival of the learned stranger, had just completed his Latin studies at the grammar school of Montrose, remained two years longer to avail himself of this rare opportunity, and made so great progress in Greek, as to be able, ere he left for St. Andrews, to read Aristotle in the original tongue. George Wishart, the martyr, was, it would seem, for some time an usher of the school, and afterwards succeeded as master of the Montrose Academy. He taught his pupils also Greek with distinguished success, but was soon obliged, by the hostility of William Chisholm, Bishop of Brechin, to leave Montrose. The Scottish clergy were distinguished generally at this period, by their ridiculous ignorance of the Greek language,<sup>4</sup> and by the hatred which, like the German schoolmen, they cherished to the Greek language and literature.

The first distinguished Scottish humanist is Hector Boyce (Boetius). He received the elements of a classical education at

<sup>1</sup> Spalding Club—*Fasti Aberdonenses*, preface, page 7.

<sup>2</sup> Robert the Bruce, in 1329 A.D., made a gift of 20s. to the grammar school of Montrose.

<sup>3</sup> See Dr. M'Crie's *Lives of John Knox and Andrew Melville*. To Dr. M'Crie, literature is indebted for the most learned and complete historical researches into the early history of our Scottish grammar schools.

<sup>4</sup> See Hallam, *Introd. Lit. Europe*, vol. i. p. 472.

the grammar school of Dundee, and afterwards studied at the University of Paris. During his residence abroad, Boetius made the acquaintance of Erasmus, with whom, when afterwards Principal of the King's College, Aberdeen, he continued on terms of close friendship. The Latin of Boetius, if not always pure, is immeasurably superior to the scholastic Latin of the Scottish ecclesiastics of his day. Aberdeen has also the honour of producing the first Scottish grammarian, who published a Latin grammar. This was the work of Vaus, of whom, as a coadjutor in classical instruction, Boetius speaks very favourably. "In hoc genere disciplinæ, admodum eruditus, sermone elegans, sententiis venustus, labore invictus." Vaus' *Rudimenta* is too much founded on the scholastic grammars to be of much value, and is very inferior to Linaere's treatises. Mr. Innes observes,<sup>1</sup> that it is "beyond measure valuable to a Scotchman studious of the early language of his country, a great part of the book being in Scotch, though devoted only to Latin grammar." The indicative mood is translated, "Schauand Mode;" the optative mood, "Yarnand Mode." Vaus' grammar was printed at Paris by Ascensius, whom Vaus eulogizes as in "re grammatica doctissimus." It would appear that Ascensius was afraid his accuracy might be at fault in a grammar written chiefly in our Scottish Doric, of which he knew nothing. To save the reputation of his press, he instructs the reader, "Hæc rudimenta grammatices impressa sunt rursus prelo Iodoci Badii Ascensii Scoticæ linguæ imperiti proinde si quid in ea erratum est, minus est mirandum."

The great name of Scottish classical literature at the Reformation, is George Buchanan. He holds the same place as Melancthon in Germany—Præceptor Scotiæ.

George Buchanan's Latin studies began at the grammar school of Killearn, which long maintained, as a classical institution, considerable celebrity. At St. Andrews he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts. It was at the Scottish College of Paris he studied Greek. At that celebrated University, Greek was better taught during the sixteenth century than anywhere else. "The press of Stephens was the central point of European illumination. Budæus, Stephen, Scaliger, Casaubon, effected for Greek what

<sup>1</sup> *Records of the University and King's College, Aberdeen*, Spalding Club, Preface xxi. note.



the Italians of the previous century had accomplished for Latin. No other scholars contributed so much to restore the integrity of the Greek text, and to the right exegesis of the Greek classics, especially the prose writers. If the great Latin dictionary of Forcellini and Facciolati may be taken as a representative of the obligations of learning to Italy, the gigantic *Thesaurus* of Stephens reminds of the debt owing to the University of Paris.

Buchanan, at the age of twenty-three, began, at the College of St. Barbe, his professional career. The department of learning to which he devoted himself from the first, was Humanity. We may add that Latin literature was, throughout his illustrious course, the main subject of his prelections, and the highest source of his distinction as a scholar. Buchanan was indeed thoroughly versant with Greek literature, and wrote excellent Latin translations of the *Alcestis* and *Medea* of Euripides; but his fame rests on his admirable knowledge of Latin, and his power to express himself in it, not in a tissue of centos, but as if the Latin of Cicero and Virgil were his mother tongue. His prose compositions are terse, perspicuous, and elegant. His poetry obtained for him, from its variety and its genius, the highest admiration of his contemporaries. Even in his own day, the Latin Psalms took their place, like the *Colloquies* of Erasmus, in the grammar schools of Germany, and were, in all probability, taught in the seminary of Sturmius, his friend. One of the popes is said to have lamented that Buchanan was a heretic, otherwise his psalms had been sung in all the churches of papal Christendom. The elder and younger Scaligers added their critical testimony to his poetical merits. The younger says, "Buchananus unus est omnes post se relinquens in Latinâ poesi." Dr. Johnson adds the weight of his authority. "Not only," he says, "had Buchanan a great knowledge of the Latin language, but he was a great poetical genius."

We have no scruple in connecting the name of Buchanan with the history of the grammar school. With every Scotchman the memory of George Buchanan is associated with King James, as the learned master of his youth. Buchanan spent also many years of his previous life in the duties of private classical tuition. He was first master of the Earl of Cassilis, for whom he drew up the Latin translation of Linacre, to which

we have already referred. Later, the Marshal de Brissac intrusted to him the education of his son. He read Livy also with Queen Mary in her twentieth year, who, to her other attractions, added a taste for learning. Besides, in the days of Buchanan, the duties of a college regent in Humanity were similar to the occupations of a modern classical master in the higher forms of the school. The programme drawn up by Buchanan, for a College of Humanity at St. Andrews, may illustrate this. It is based on the Paris system. Humanity studies are divided, as now in the English and German grammar schools, into six classes. The lowest begins with the rules of Latin grammar, the next introduces to Cicero, the favourite author in Scotland, as in Germany, to be read in all the classes to the first. Greek is only introduced in the fourth class, and no other author is mentioned but Homer.

The scholars of Buchanan, as regent of grammar at St. Barbe, could not thus have been very far advanced. At Bordeaux it is doubtful if the college at which he taught can be regarded as higher than a more advanced gymnasium. It is probable, however, that when called, in 1544 A.D., to the distinguished college of Cardinal le Moine, Buchanan's course of instruction was intended for higher pupils. Buchanan was there associated with Turnebus and Muretus, two of the most learned scholars of their day, especially distinguished by their contributions to the exposition of the Latin classics. "The first class was taught by Turnebus, the second by Buchanan, the third by Muretus." "It is remarked by a French historian that three of the most learned men in the world then taught Humanity in the same college."<sup>1</sup>

Buchanan, from an early period of his residence at Paris, became attached to the principles of the Reformation, then being expounded by Luther. He contributed early to the cause of the Reformation by his keen satirical poem, entitled "*Franciscanus*." When he returned to Scotland, he embraced the principles of the Scottish Reformation, and in 1567 was moderator in the Assembly of the Church. We can scarcely doubt that it was this devotion to the cause of religion, to which we must trace the unjust calumnies heaped on his memory. The same

<sup>1</sup> Irving's *Life of Buchanan*, p. 57.

writers who describe Knox as wanting alike in courtesy and loyalty to his Queen, reproach Buchanan as the pedant tyrant of her son. Our readers may remember an illustration of this in the recent painting exhibited at the Edinburgh Exhibition, of Buchanan applying liberally the birch to his whimpering pupil. We believe that this reproach on the memory of Buchanan is unjust. From his epistolary correspondence we gather that he was a genial-hearted man, whose conversation delighted by its wit and intelligence wherever he went, and won for him the rare and ardent friendship of the Scaligers, as well as of many other learned men of his age. At Paris he lived on terms of intimacy with Muretus and Turnebus; and Ronsard, the French poet, who knew them well, says that they were anything but pedants. "They presented nothing of the pedagogue but the gown and cap."<sup>1</sup> It is to be remembered also that Buchanan had earlier pupils than James—the Earl of Cassilis, and the son of the Marshal de Brissac, both of whom were distinguished in their later career by their character, courage, and learning. Nor can we well trace the weaknesses of James, his love of flattery, and his pedantic self-sufficiency, to the manly discipline of Buchanan. Whatever, indeed, James possessed of learning, and it was considerable, he owed to his preceptor. Buchanan instructed him carefully in his vernacular tongue, a procedure not usual with masters in his age. The course of instruction he gave, embraced not only Greek and Latin, but all the several branches of the trivium and quadrivium. Not satisfied with this general education, Buchanan wrote, with an especial regard to his royal pupil, his *History of Scotland*, and his treatise *De jure regni apud Scotos*. Happy had it been for James and his family had they based their royal rights on the historical foundation developed by Buchanan, and had they adopted those great constitutional principles of government laid down in his treatise *De jure regni*. We may justly claim for this work, that by it Buchanan laid the first stone of that stately edifice gradually reared to British liberty, by Milton, Sydney, Locke, Mackintosh, and other illustrious reformers. So much for Buchanan, the most distinguished Latin scholar of his age and country.

The life of John Knox belongs rather to his country generally

<sup>1</sup> Irving's *Life of Buchanan*, p. 67.

than to the institutions we are considering. Yet we cannot overlook his services. John Knox was not only himself a scholar in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but he accomplished more for the cause of education in his country than any other reformer. Nowhere are the religious principles on which rests the necessity for popular and learned education more clearly enumerated than in *The First Book of Discipline of the Church of Scotland*, drawn up under his care. What other reformers desired was actually embodied through his exertions in the Statute-Book of Scotland. To John Knox we owe the parochial system, which, with all its present deficiencies, Scotchmen can never forget, trained for centuries the most educated and religious peasantry of Europe. Nor did the Scotch Reformers overlook the wants of higher learning. The grammar schools of Scotland were both greatly extended and improved by the Reformation. Had the provisions of *The First Book of Discipline* been carried into execution, even more would have been accomplished. The programme of learned education there embodied is of a high order. In every town "of any reputation" a schoolmaster was to be appointed, able to teach grammar and the Latin tongue. "In every notable town" a "colledge" was to be erected, in which the arts, at least "logick and rhetorick, together with the tongues," were "to be used by sufficient masters." Lastly, there were the arrangements for the curriculum of the universities.

The period of life which *The Book of Discipline* recommended for study was till the age of twenty-four years. This was, perhaps, longer than modern times can allow. It appears to us, from the consideration of the arrangements of this book, that the reformers contemplated a later entrance on university studies than existed generally at that period. May we not regard these "colleges" as intermediate institutions like the higher forms of the Prussian gymnasium? The grammar scholar was to be drafted into these higher institutions, there to be prepared for the university. Viewing the "colleges" in this light, which the contemporary history of Geneva and Germany warrants, they are a remarkable anticipation of the higher modern methods of classical education.

While Knox thus cared for the advancement of learning in the schools, he was equally concerned that the higher education

of Scotland should be open, as now, to all classes of the community. It is another provision of *The Book of Discipline*, that "discreet, grave, and learned men" be appointed "to visit schooles for the tryall of their exercise, profit, and continuance," with power to give encouragement to poorer scholars, and to sustain them at the "charge of the Kirk." "Those that came "from the landward," were to be sent to the "colledges" and sustained at letters.

These recommendations, it is interesting to notice, did not remain a dead letter. From the *Register Episcopatus Brechinensis*<sup>1</sup> we learn that various grants were given from the old episcopal funds to educate boys for seven years at the "schooles." On one occasion a grant is given to a more advanced scholar to "go beyond seas" to prosecute his studies. Dr. Schmitz may deduce an argument in favour of his excellent suggestion of grammar school bursaries from these ancient Scottish records.

In connexion with the history of learning in Scotland at the time of the Reformation, we cannot omit to name Andrew Melville, the Reuchlin of his country. As a Latin scholar, and a poetical genius, Melville was only inferior to Buchanan. His "*Carmen Mosis*" is one of the choicest pieces in the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*. To his knowledge of Latin, Melville added an erudite acquaintance with Greek, which he studied at Paris under Turnebus. He was also in terms of intimacy with Stephens, the greatest Greek scholar of his age, if we, perhaps, except Budæus. To these accomplishments, Melville added a more familiar acquaintance with the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac tongues, than any scholar in these islands of his age. Like Melanchthon, however, Andrew Melville aided the cause of grammar school education chiefly indirectly by the stimulus he gave to the universities of Scotland. To him the Universities of Glasgow and St. Andrews were indebted more than to any other. He placed them abreast of the age in learning, and was the first who, in the annals of his country, turned the tide of scholarship toward the Scottish shore. As regards the study of Humanity, the course of reading he introduced was extensive, Cicero still remaining the favourite author. In Greek, Homer,

<sup>1</sup> A work edited with much learning by the late distinguished and lamented antiquarian, Patrick Chalmers, Esq., of Auldbar.

Hesiod, Theocritus, Pindar, Isocrates, with Aristotle and part of Plato, were expounded. To his Divinity students he taught Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac.<sup>1</sup> Melville introduced also a great improvement into the university system, which we may regard as the basis of our modern Scottish professorships. Prior to his time the Regents conducted their scholars through the different departments of study. Melville assigned, on the other hand, to each the branch for which the learning of his coadjutor best fitted him. The same arrangement has in later times been extended with much advantage, in Germany, to the instruction of the gymnasium.

Of all the Scottish Reformers, John Row was, by the sphere of his ministerial activity, brought into nearest contact with the Scottish Grammar School. The grammar school of Perth, where he was settled as pastor, appears at the Reformation to have taken the foremost rank in Scotland. Andrew Simson taught there, with great success, the Latin language. The Dunbar grammar, written by him, shows that he was a respectable scholar. He had often nearly 300 pupils under his care, consisting not only of the burghers and yeomen, but including also the sons of many of the gentry and nobility. Row, who had studied Greek and Hebrew in Italy, seems to have aided the successor of Simson in acquiring these languages.<sup>2</sup> Many of the grammar scholars also boarded with him, and received private instructions. "Perhaps," says M'Crie, "some of our literati, who entertain such a diminutive view of the taste and learning of these times, might have been taken by surprise had they been set down at the table of one of our Scottish *Reformers*, surrounded by the circle of his children and pupils, where the conversation was all carried on in French, and the chapter of the Bible at family worship was read by the boys in French, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. . . Such, however, was the common practice in the house of John Row."<sup>3</sup> At four years of age, Mr. Row's son was taught the Hebrew characters, and at eight he read fluently the Hebrew Bible. The obligations of Perth to this family were enhanced in the following century. Mr. John

<sup>1</sup> See M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> See Row's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, p. 466. Wodrow Society.

<sup>3</sup> M'Crie's *Life of John Knox*, p. 172.

Row, the grandson of the Reformer, was for a considerable period its distinguished master. Inheriting the family zeal for Hebrew literature, he compiled while at Perth his Hebrew Grammar, and instructed his scholars, with great ability, not only in Latin and Greek, but also Hebrew.

The Trilingual College of Francis the First, designed for the advancement of learning in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues, formed an important era in the annals of the University of Paris. The same idea was extended later in Germany to the grammar schools of the Saxon principalities. In Perth, in the seventeenth century, the same large method of education was adopted. Nor is Perth the only nor the first of these institutions in Scotland. Prestonpans owes that honour to John Davidson, its pious and eminent minister. A school was erected at his expense for teaching the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages. And it was also so well endowed, as to be able to secure for its first master, in 1606, Alexander Hume, the Rector of the Edinburgh High School. We have not been able to find any details regarding the curriculum of this learned academy. It is to be regretted that Scotland has lost these schools, so fitted to aid in the education of a learned ministry. The gymnasia of Germany are now generally based on this broad foundation of learning.

The High School of Edinburgh we find gradually, from the period of the Reformation, attaining the position it long held of the first grammar school of Scotland. Its first reformed rector must have had limited views of classical learning, as he engaged to make perfect grammarians in three years. The prescribed course of study was early fixed for four years, under the direction of four regents. In the beginning of the seventeenth century this was extended to five years. From the city records of Edinburgh we learn the curriculum of study. The design was, as in the continental schools, that the pupil should learn to speak Latin. He was therefore to be early taught the names of different objects in that language. Cicero was the prominent classic throughout the course. Livy is not mentioned as a subject of study. The Greek grammar was only taught in the fifth year, and thus little of its literature could be acquired. The pupils were to be taught to write Latin themes and to compose verses.

It is to be regretted that we have no very detailed records of the grammar schools of Scotland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The course of study was generally limited to four years. Greek was not generally introduced, at least only the rudiments were acquired. No "colledges," such as the *First Book of Discipline* suggested, were established. Latin plays were occasionally performed, and the expenses connected with them are to be found detailed in Town Council records. From the statutes of the Aberdeen Grammar School, we learn the general discipline adopted. Elementary scholars were enjoined to observe a Pythagorean silence for a year. None were to speak in the vernacular tongue, but they had liberty to use Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Gaelic. Physical chastisements were largely permitted. If we may judge from Town Council records, not the least onerous magisterial duties were to keep the grammar schools in order. The superstitious time of "Yule" seems to have been especially dreaded by the Town Council of Aberdeen, as the season of usual grammar school Saturnalia. At Edinburgh, one unfortunate magistrate lost his life in attempting to quell a revolt of the "gentlemenis bairnis" of the High School.

With this sketch of the grammar school at the period of the Reformation we pass on. In the centuries that followed, the arrangements and methods of the school underwent little change. At the same time, education has, ever since the Reformation, formed to the highest minds the increasing subject of inquiry and keen discussion, and classical learning has gradually made important advancement. The results of these influences we can plainly trace in the existing grammar school; and it may be suitable in this sketch of its history to notice their origin and character.

In the first place, we scarcely leave the Reformation period before we find a growing dissatisfaction with the dull methods of the grammar school—its mechanical translation—its tax on the memory—its severe discipline—its insufficiency to educate the mind for that Baconian system which taught the student that his thirst for truth could be slaked, not at the cisterns of verbal learning, but only at the living fountains of creation. To borrow the old language of the schools, it began to be felt that



the trivium, with its verbalism, had occupied too high a place in education, and that the quadrivium, with its objective Realism, deserved a greater prominence. To the earlier educationists, who embraced this view, belong Lubinus, Vossius, Lipsius, Rati-chius, Comenius ; later, Locke, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, and, generally, the school of the philanthropists. As an illustration of the popular objections to the old grammar school methods, we quote the following extracts from Comenius, the distinguished educationist of the seventeenth century :<sup>1</sup>—"Learning is not enough accommodated to the uses of our life to teach us how to behave ourselves in the occurrences thereof. The fault whereof must be laid upon that moderate custom, or rather disease, of schooles, whereby all the time of youth is spent in grammaticall, rhetoricall, and logicall toys ; those things which are reall and fit to enlighten men's minds, and to prepare them for action, being reserved for the universities, that, forsooth ! their judgements being more ripe, and they able to undertake such things, they may make the most happy progresse. . . . There hath not been used a due preparation of the minds of youth for the readier embrace of learning, neither hath profit and pleasure beene sufficiently proportioned. . . . For their entertainment they have not been used, as friends at a banquet, with curtesies and delights ; but even like slaves in a mill, with force, stripes, and reproachfull speeches. For fists and ferulars, rodde and scourges, have beene the usuall dainties in schooles and their daily dishes ; and is it any wonder, then, that they have proved nauseous and dulling unto any. . . . Severity doth necessarily breed feare, and feare confounds and troubles the mind, that it loseth itselfe. . . . Therefor there is need of great art for the taking, alluring, and gentle handling of their minds : which art will be made up by a sweete and mild carriage of the teachers."

Germany was, in last century, the scene especially of the labours of this school. Institutions were originated to carry into practice their educational speculations. The "Real" school was established in which the classics took a lower place, and natural science in its various departments furnished the chief subject of study. Some of these philanthropists, as Basedow and his school, ran into extremes, yet they rendered to classical

<sup>1</sup> *A Reformation of Schooles*, pp. 13, 20. London, 1642.

education important services. We owe it chiefly to them, that the classics are no longer used exclusively for grammatical drill, but are made the basis of instruction to the grammar scholar in geography, history, archæology, and, we may add, in the elements of political science.

A second influence which has tended to form and elevate the modern gymnasium, is the school of critical philology inaugurated by Bentley. The dissertation of Phalaris, by that great and acute scholar, is one of the greatest events in the history of classical literature. Bentley was not perhaps more erudite than the scholars of the Reformation—Erasmus, Scaliger, Casaubon, &c. But he was the first who developed those principles of internal evidence, by which the genuine and the spurious in the classics may be distinguished. No scholar ever possessed a higher faculty of observing analogies and detecting discrepancies; of marking peculiarities in language, style, and allusion; and of deriving sagacious conclusions from inductions seemingly remote. Bentley is the acknowledged chief not only of later English critics—Porson, Parr, Elmsley, Gaisford, Thirlwall, Blomfield, Monk, Donaldson, &c.—but of F. A. Wolf the most distinguished German critic of modern philology; with Niebuhr, Böckh, Müller, Hermann, and all the great German scholars of the age. What fresh life the writings of these great critics have infused into the grammar school! Grammar is now no longer a system of dry arbitrary rules, but, in the higher forms at least of a well-taught gymnasium, a branch of philosophical inquiry fitted to interest and arrest. With what enhanced interest a classic is studied, when each period has been defined; the light of cotemporaneous history used to illustrate the allusion, and the character of the author and his work elucidated by original and learned critical research.

The influence of the philologists and the realists in the grammar school are first distinctly to be marked in the modern Prussian gymnasia. These shared in the large reforms introduced by the late King of Prussia into all the institutions of the country. They owed much at this earlier period to two individuals, F. A. Wolf the eminent critic, and Von Altenstein the first Prussian minister of religion and education. Wolf was in every way admirably qualified to advise. In the earlier part

of his career he had experience as a gymnasial teacher and rector. At Halle, as Professor, he had inspired Germany with a new zeal for classical study, and trained many of the teachers, who became afterwards distinguished as gymnasial masters. No one could thus better suggest what changes in the course of classical study, and equipment of the gymnasia, were needful to adapt them to the progress of modern learning.

Von Altenstein, the Prussian minister, exercised a still more direct influence on the gymnasia. He belonged to the realistic school of educationists, and by his influence gained for scientific study a high place in the classical school. Von Altenstein rendered an important practical service to the gymnasium, by establishing what is called in Prussia the "classen-system." In place of the Scottish method, of each master conducting the studies of his scholars till they are fit for the rector's class; in Prussia a particular master, called the *Ordinarius*, has assigned to him the charge of watching over the discipline and progress of an individual class. This does not mean that the *Ordinarius* is the only teacher of his own class, or that he may not be employed in the instruction of other classes; but that it is his duty to give to the whole studies of those under his charge that unity of impression which, without a directing mind, might be in danger of being lost under the instruction of so many masters. Results have shown the value of this arrangement.

The Prussian gymnasium, our readers are probably aware, undertakes a large department of educational training. It professes to prepare the scholar to enter at the university immediately on his professional studies. We may well imagine that to form the programme for a course so extended, must require not only at the outset the studies of the highest educationist, but that, after all, errors will be committed which experience alone will teach to rectify.

It has so befallen the modern Prussian gymnasia. They were certainly from the outset magnificent institutions of learning, which deserved and justly obtained the admiration and imitation of Europe. At the same time defects have been shown, and Dr. Wiese, in his *German Letters on English Education*, has, with the usual readiness of the Prussian to learn by experience, frankly confessed these.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Deutsche Briefe über Englische Erziehung.*

These may be briefly stated as the following. In the first place, there is too much of the system of "Vielwisserei," or studying too many things in the gymnasia.<sup>1</sup> Von Altenstein introduced so many scientific studies into the gymnasium, that even the lengthened period of its studies, extending generally from the tenth to the nineteenth or twentieth year, was insufficient; and the mind of the scholar was apt to be jaded and worn out with so many sciences and so many masters. Another defect has been, that the gymnasial teacher too often taught rather according to the professorial methods of the University, than the catechetical forms, which better suit the gymnasium. Dr. Wiese observes, that with the German scholar, there is often rather the Wissen than the Können—the science than the skill. The classical knowledge of the pupil is wanting in practical power. In the third place, there is often a deficiency of unity in the teaching of the school. German masters differ frequently as much in their views of grammar, or their conclusions as to history and philosophy, as the professors of the University. The consequence is, that the scholar often is distracted in his judgment by conflicting theories, and that his mind is wanting in that firmness of conviction which is the real basis of progress in learning. Lastly, the Christianity of the gymnasium was often very indefinite in its nature,—wanting the exactness and power of a confessional form, and little fitted to be employed in the school as the basis of practical Christian ethics.

The Prussian Government has, by its recent regulations, endeavoured to amend these defects of the gymnasial system. We have before us the circular of the Minister of Religion and Education, dated 7th January 1856, containing, with a series of valuable directions for the regulation of the gymnasia, a Lehrplan, or course of study. May we regard these as the result of Dr. Wiese's studies in the new and important position of under-minister of Education, for which his accomplishments so well qualify him. At least this programme is in harmony with his educational views, and frees the Prussian system from many of the objections which have been urged against it. The

<sup>1</sup> See *Scottish Educ. Journal*, Jan. 1857, Notes on the Prussian Upper Schools, by Professor Blackie.

following is the Lehrplan now, with few exceptions, universally followed in the Prussian gymnasia :—

	First Class.	Second Class.	Third Class.	Fourth Class.	Fifth Class.	Sixth Class.
Religion, weekly hours, .	2	2	2	2	3	3
German, . . . . .	8	2	2	2	2	2
Latin, . . . . .	8	10	10	10	10	10
Greek, . . . . .	6	6	6	6	...	...
French, . . . . .	2	2	2	2	3	...
History and Geography, .	3	3	3	3	2	2
Mathematics and Reckoning,	4	4	3	3	3	4
Physics, . . . . .	2	1	...	...	...	...
Natural Science, . . . .	...	...	2	...	(2)	(2)
Drawing, . . . . .	...	...	...	2	2	2
Writing, . . . . .	...	...	...	...	3	3
Total weekly, .	30	30	30	30	30	28

In place of attempting any critical estimate of this “plan of study,” it may better familiarize us with the Prussian system to follow a scholar through the classes of the gymnasium. He has probably attended the *Vorschule*, for, unlike the pupils of *Sturm*, it is assumed in his entrance at the gymnasium that he has learnt the elements of knowledge. He begins with *sexta*, the lowest gymnasial class, generally at the age of nine or ten years. The class is not very large in comparison with our High School or Academy forms, as large classes are disapproved by German educationists. The elements of grammar form the leading study; at the same time, he continues his German education, which continues throughout the course. Writing, geography, history, and arithmetic, are also taught. He acquires the elements of natural science—only the *Ordinarius* of this class is directed to see that these be taught not in a scientific form to a boy of his age, but in a popular attractive way (*anregender weise*). As regards religion, an hour has been added to the time formerly prescribed, that there may be room not only for biblical knowledge, but for catechetical training. At the end of the half year, the *Ordinarius* sums up the marks attached to the name of each scholar. These are founded on a

careful consideration of his attention, industry, conduct, and progress in every branch of study. If the result is satisfactory, our scholar is "versetzt," or gets his remove. On reaching the fifth class, the pupil continues the same course of study, Latin grammar being the main branch. His hours are a little extended, and the study of French, to be systematically continued to the end, is begun. It is particularly enjoined in the gymnasium that, if possible, the Ordinarius of sexta should hold the same place in quinta, as the frequent change of masters in the junior classes has been found one of the chief evils in the Prussian system. The removal to quarta (fourth class), and indeed every step in the course, rests on the same principle of ascertained proficiency. Greek begins in quarta, which, as the remaining gymnasial course generally occupies six years, furnishes a six years' course in that language. The modern gymnasium thus appreciates justly that tongue, which, if Latin may be esteemed the formal, constitutes the material and far noblest part of a polite education. To make room for this study, physics are displaced; and writing, while an object of strict attention to the higher masters, forms no longer a separate branch. It was, until recently, permitted in the gymnasium, to obtain an exemption from the study of Greek. One section of the school studying Latin alone, resembled the Modern Section of the Edinburgh Academy. But this is no longer permitted in Prussia, except in those smaller towns which have no other school than the gymnasium to teach Latin. Wherever there is a high "Bürger Schule" or "Real Schule" where Latin may be acquired, it is not allowed. The reason is the same that has decided the exclusion of many modern branches in the higher schools of England. If classical learning is to be made not a branch but a basis of education, unity of purpose must regulate all the arrangements of the schools. The attention of the master from beginning to end must not be distracted by a variety of objects, and the time of the scholar must not be frittered away on a multiplicity of subjects. We pass no adverse judgment on the academy arrangement, which appears to work well.

With tertia begin the studies of the higher gymnasium. This division is founded on the natural distinction betwixt the capa-

bilities of the boy, and the higher mental vigour of the youth. Every branch is now studied on higher principles. Natural science, for example, is again taught, but the teacher is to present a connected and systematic outline of the relations of the branches of this department of knowledge. Zumpt's Grammar, and Vömel's Greek Exercises, with other works, may be used, but grammar and syntax are taught less on the basis of arbitrary rules, than on the inductive principles which belong to higher grammatical studies. The classics read in the earlier forms of the school are again repeated, but they are to be taught by the master not as furnishing matter for drill in syntax or antiquities, but in connexion with the particular genius of the author and the scope of his writings.

In *secunda* and *prima* this higher course is continued. The studies are all of a severer character. Natural science is left out for these branches (*Physik*) more nearly allied to mathematical studies. In Latin, Virgil, Horace, Livy, Cicero, are generally read with the higher syntax of Zumpt. Latin themes and exercises in Latin conversation are prescribed, but we miss the hexameters or alcaics of the English school. In Greek, the *Odyssey* is often read before the *Iliad*. Xenophon or Herodotus are studied as historians, and with these the Greek orators. Attic is the form chiefly studied, and to which all others are referred. Theologians begin at this period the study of Hebrew grammar and the Pentateuch. Our scholar thus reaches *prima* in his seventeenth or eighteenth year. He is expected here so far to have completed his study of the classics, as to be able at the university to proceed to the higher investigations of philology and criticism. In Latin, Cicero and the Satires of Horace are frequently read, with exercises on style. In Greek, Plato, the tragedians, Hesiod, Thucydides, may be studied. In German, the history of its literature has now been completed. In mathematics, analytic geometry and plane trigonometry are known. Formerly also the elements of philosophy were taught as a distinct branch, but it has been latterly felt that strict science belongs to the university, and that all formal prelections are to be excluded from the school. The elements of logic are still taught, but only as a branch of German instruction.

The scholar is now prepared for the "*Abiturienten Examen*"

which, if passed, entitles him to enter the university. This examination lasts about five days, and embraces a wide range ; the Latin and Greek classics, Greek and Latin exercises, universal history, geography ancient and modern, with conic sections, spherical trigonometry, and other higher studies of mathematics, &c. We believe that this system too often involved cramming on the part of the scholars, but Prussian educationists have sought to remedy this, and the system is less open now to this objection.

We have thus imperfectly sketched the existing Prussian system of gymnasial instruction. Our readers will not fail to observe how extensive is the plan of study which it carries out in the grammar school. Compared with the German school of the sixteenth century, how much more complete is its equipment in the trivium. The scholar has mastered the course of German literature. The Greek language, from which the Latin classics borrow their lustre, has assigned to it the place which its chaste and nervous compositions merit in modern culture. In the quadrivium, also, no department is neglected. Music, arithmetic, geometry, physics, form branches of careful study. The weak point of the programme is its excessive range. It will be seen that in the plan of study of 1856, no effort has been spared that educational experience and ability can suggest to guard against this defect. The instructions of the minister of education, Von Raumer, which accompany this, tend in the same direction. The Rector and the Ordinarii are frequently to consult together. They are to allow no teacher, following what Dr. Wiese calls "our inflexible self-willed German individuality," to engross the studies of the scholar to the detriment of his progress in other branches. They are to see that the scholars are not jaded and exhausted by their home work, especially by too lengthy and frequent written exercises. They are not to permit the conflicts of the university prematurely to enter the school, distracting the mind of the youth, by opposing theories of grammar, or by historical statements regarding, for instance, the narrative of Scripture, on which the teacher of religion says one thing, and the master in history the opposite. Teachers are enjoined, also, to keep closely to the classic they are reading, and not to wander too excursively into other sub-



jects. Every precaution is thus used which the ablest educationists can suggest. Perhaps in the hands of a rector of high energy and decision, a safe course may be steered. But we must still hazard the doubt, whether too much is not attempted in the gymnasium. Might not French be left as an optional study? Is it not aiming too high to attempt to furnish at the grammar school a complete general education? If it is an evil of our Scottish system to have boys listening to the prelections of the university, we think it is a defect of the German system to have youths of nineteen or twenty still drudging at school, in place of enjoying the higher mental stimulus of university life. Were it not better to limit some of the studies of the gymnasium, as, for example, mathematics, and shortening the course to precede the professional training of the university, by a period devoted to liberal studies. There are distinguished German educationists who have adopted this opinion.

In Prussia there are about a hundred and fifty gymnasia in which the "*Lehrplan*" we have described is carried out.<sup>1</sup> These are under the direction of the "*Schul Collegien*,"—provincial institutions paid by Government, and intrusted with the care of the gymnasium. It is their duty to examine teachers, and to give them their appointments. They choose also the board, who conduct the "*Abiturienten Examen*" of the scholars. If any modification is proposed in the method of classical studies in any gymnasium, it must first receive their support and the sanction of the minister of education.

Having thus described the Prussian method, we shall not dwell on the general state of the continental gymnasia in the present day. They flourish chiefly on this side of the Alps. Wherever classical learning flourishes, the Prussian principle of an extended course in Greek and Latin has been adopted. We find gymnasia based on this system not only in Saxony and Protestant Germany, but in the Catholic States. Austria has attracted to her schools distinguished masters, and to cope with her Protestant rivals, has abandoned her obsolete methods, and adopted a well-developed plan of gymnasial instruction. In

<sup>1</sup> We are not certain that this is the exact number for the present year, as we have not been able to lay our hands on the latest statistics. In 1846, the gymnasial scholars in Prussia amounted to 29,474.

Holland, excellent grammar schools are to be found, in which a freer spirit breathes than in bureaucratic Germany. The Belgian schools, if not distinguished by the careful grounding of German masters, are marked by their paternal discipline. In France, under the direction of Cousin, many of the collèges, which, like our Scottish burgh schools, were inadequately furnished, have been remodelled and so equipped as to provide instruction under competent masters in the highest branches of classical study.

The English grammar school deserves a less cursory notice than the limits of this Essay will admit. While indebted to German learning, it is no copy of a foreign system. An indigenous plant rooted in the rich old Saxon soil of England, it has developed itself according to its own laws. It thus merits the distinct consideration of the educationist. We agree with Dr. Wiese, that we have "never met a schoolmaster who came up to the idea one has formed of Dr. Arnold." "The characteristics which distinguished him and his school were thoroughly English." We doubt if higher educational results have ever been attained in the grammar school than by him and some of the later English head-masters.

There are many analogies betwixt the English grammar school and the Prussian gymnasium. Both have found it necessary to extend the time of study to seven or eight years, to afford a sufficient course of reading in Greek and Latin. The order in which the classics are introduced to the scholar, both in history and general literature is similar, but in England less is read. In both, the school editions of the classics are excellent, founded on the results of the latest scholarship. We agree with Dr. Donaldson, that for these, England is indebted far less to German than to English learning.<sup>1</sup> England and Prussia have also been obliged, in compliance with modern demands, to give a higher place to the study of the vernacular tongue, and to the subsidiary branches of education. We find the "Real" element in the English school in the study of geography, antiquities, and generally in the treatment of ancient history. At the same time it has been wisely avoided to attempt so extended a programme as the Prussian plan of study. Polite scholarship has

<sup>1</sup> *Classical Scholarship, &c.* By W. Donaldson, D.D., pp. 137, 139, 143.

been the aim rather than erudition. This, in our opinion, is more suitable to youth. A correct taste may be formed in youth ; reason is alone developed in the man : we have early poets—how few premature philosophers. Classical studies are also best adapted to this culture. They furnish rather the highest form for the expression of thought than its substance. Modern knowledge has for its subject-matter a far wider experience than the classics, especially possessing that Christian element in which they are defective. We are advocates thus of the English system, with its exactness of reading, its addiction to the old fashion in the school of Greek and Roman plays, and its fastidiousness in versification. A false quantity at school or in Parliament may be in itself a matter of trifling importance, but it is not insignificant in its connexion with the culture of classical taste and refinement. We prefer the English system to the German. It is better that the grammar school should be a *Μουσείον* than a *φροντιστήριον*. The shorter English hours of lessons are better suited also to promote vigour and intensity of thought. Dr. Arnold has well said, "Education is a dynamical not a mechanical process ; and the more powerful and vigorous the mind of the teacher, the more clearly and readily he can grasp things—the better fitted is he to cultivate the mind of another." The same law holds also with the scholar.

The modern Scottish grammar school, like the English, is of indigenous growth. It may be questioned, indeed, if at the beginning of the century any classical school in Europe was so efficiently conducted as the High School of Edinburgh, under Dr. Adam. Lord Brougham, his last scholar in 1791, has said of him,—“Dr. Adam was one of the best teachers he ever heard of, and by far the best he ever knew.” He “had the talent of making his pupils delight in learning ; and he opened their minds to the knowledge both of the classics and the love of all other important studies.”<sup>1</sup> Francis Horner, Walter Scott, Henry Cockburn, Francis Jeffrey, are to be numbered among his pupils. The works of Dr. Adam, especially his *Roman Antiquities*, aided the revival of classical learning not only in his own country, but in Germany. No Scottish master since the days of Buchanan ever displayed more in his work the *ingenium perferendum*

<sup>1</sup> *History of the High School of Edinburgh*, by Dr. Steven, p. 171.

*Scotorum.* Even in his dying hours, Dr. Adam fancied himself at the congenial occupation of his life, and expired saying,—“But it grows dark, boys; you may go.”

Dr. Adam has the merit of introducing into the High School the study of Greek, which, formerly taught, had been long overlooked. Professor Pillans, his accomplished successor, conducted this study still further; and under him the High School rose to the highest position which, numerically considered, it has ever occupied. The rector's classes numbered at one time about 270. No individual master could teach so great a number of pupils. Professor Pillans introduced into his classes the monitorial system; and in the hands of this accomplished educationist, we know from the testimony of distinguished pupils, that the method was successful.<sup>1</sup>

Another classical institution to which Scotland is indebted, is the Edinburgh Academy. It has the merit of having first among our grammar schools given the due place to Greek literature. We have been informed that Dr. Tait, the esteemed Bishop of London, and the most distinguished pupil of the Academy, has given it as his testimony, that he had never met with boys of the same age in England able to read and construe Thucydides so accurately.

It is only justice to add, that under Dr. Schmitz, the High School is now abreast of any other Scottish institution in the study of Greek. Greek philology and literature are studied by his pupils as in the higher classes of the German gymnasium. We have his authority for the statement, that at the same age he never knew boys in Germany so advanced in their Greek studies as the pupils of the most advanced form in the High School.<sup>2</sup>

This advancement in classical learning, let us add, is not limited to the institutions of Edinburgh. In Glasgow, Aberdeen, St. Andrews, Dundee, Perth, Stirling, Ayr, Paisley, Cupar-Fife, and many of the smaller Scottish burghs, accomplished and laborious masters have introduced a much higher course of

<sup>1</sup> See Professor Pillans' *Three Lectures on the Proper Objects and Methods of Education*, &c.

<sup>2</sup> We owe to Dr. Schmitz much valuable information in connexion with the subject of this Essay.

study, especially in the Greek language. Although the curriculum is more limited than at Edinburgh, many students from our smaller schools have occupied the most honourable places in the Scottish Universities. It will not be forgotten, to the credit of the High School of Glasgow, that James Halley, one of its pupils, successfully competed with Dr. Tait for the highest Greek honours in the University of Glasgow.

At the outset of this Essay we stated that the question of the grammar school belonged to University reform. The history of the grammar school illustrates this. We have a line drawn in the mediæval universities, betwixt the lower and higher departments of classical instruction. As learning advances, and the study of Greek obtains its due place, it is found that this course of the scholastic grammar school is too limited, and a more lengthened curriculum is introduced. This higher system we find carried out in the school of Sturmius, and other of the distinguished early German masters. The Scottish reformers contemplated similar institutions in their provincial "colledges." These formed a part in that comprehensive plan of national education proposed by them in the First Book of Discipline. In the English public schools the same necessity has led to a gradual extension of the course. In our own day, we see it carried out in the German gymnasia. We know not, indeed, of any country, marked in this century by the revival of learning, where attention has not been directed to the elevation of the gymnasium as well as of the university. The subject deserves the careful study of the Scottish educationists. We venture on the following suggestions as indicating what appears to us the line of progressive reform.

I. We think that seminaries, such as the High School of Edinburgh and the Academy, may be regarded as model institutions for Scotland. The age at which their scholars leave for the University, is earlier than in Germany; but it appears to us, judging of Scotch boys, that this is an advantage. A scholar of seventeen years of age is with us, we think, prepared for the higher mental stimulus, and the more scientific method of instruction suitable to the University.

Let me add in connexion with this suggestion, that to many of the friends of these Edinburgh institutions, it appears that

some modifications might be introduced into their arrangements, which, without affecting their character, might add to their efficiency. In both, were it not an advance, if a rule were made that "removes" from one class to another must be preceded by an examination? The Report of the Examiners of the Academy for last year,<sup>1</sup> confirms this. "There exists an inequality of proficiency within the several classes, which, inseparable as it is from the fixed system of the Academy, somewhat mars the effect to an examiner's eye, and must, it would seem, somewhat prejudicially affect the advance of the more gifted and more studious boy."

Another question, perhaps still more delicate, is, whether it be for the good of the pupil that, according to the existing Scottish method, the master should conduct his studies onward till he enters the rector's classes. The advantages of this plan are, that under an able and accomplished teacher, more may be effected by one master than by many. Its evils are, that if the scholar falls to the care of an incompetent or indolent instructor, his education may be lost. The subject has scarcely yet received the discussion it merits; and we shall not venture to say whether the Prussian or the Scottish system be the more advantageous, or whether a modification of both might not work the best.

II. It appears to us that University reform requires the abridgment of University studies. We shall never have an entrance examination worthy the name so long as the theological student must still pass through an eight years' curriculum of study. It is not possible in our day, with its opening for Scottish energy and talent in commerce, engineering, and other professional services, to extend the period of time devoted in youth to study. Nor is it necessary. The German student, it is true, spends, it may be, eight years at the gymnasium; the Scottish grammar scholar only four. But at the University this is compensated. The German concludes his course in four years; the Scotchman in eight. In point of maturity and force of mind, we are not prepared, from the experience we have had, to admit that the Scottish theologian is behind the Prussian "candidat;" but as regards learning, prejudice only can deny it. Can nothing be done to take away this reproach? Is the Scotchman incapable

<sup>1</sup> *Price List*, &c., of the Edinburgh Academy, p. 42. 1857.

of high scholarship? Let the brilliant success of many Scotch students in the present day, not only at Balliol, the first college of Oxford, but at Cambridge, attest that the fault lies not in the Scottish capacity, but in the obsolete Scottish system.

In place of the four years' Scottish course at the grammar school, let the curriculum be raised to six years, and the course of study at the University diminished to six years. This would enable us still to retain a feature of the Scottish University system in which, in our judgment, it excels England and Germany. We might still have three years' professional theological training, of which England deplores the want; while we should retain three years' study in arts, an element wanting in the German system. It appears to us also, that it would be very advantageous if, as at Marischal College, Aberdeen, and at the English Universities, the studies of humanity were prosecuted to the close of the undergraduate course. We refer to this as connected with the prosecution of classical studies in the gymnasium, and as meeting the objection, that a change of system must necessarily entail great pecuniary sacrifices on the professor. If asked to present a plan of study based on this principle, we would submit the following: it has its defects, but it substantially carries out the studies of the existing Scottish method, and it inverts the strange existing arrangement of metaphysical and ethical studies preceding natural philosophy:—

#### UNDER GRADUATE COURSE.

*First Year.*—Mathematics, Latin, Greek.

*Second Year.*—Natural Philosophy, Logic, Latin. Aristotle might be read with a private tutor, in connexion with the logic class. We think the suggestion of the *Witness*, regarding tutors for higher studies, a very valuable one.

*Third Year.*—Ethics, Rhetoric, Greek, especially Plato.

III. Any such re-adjustment of the University system requires that we go back to the design of the reformers, and seek to establish in our notable towns provincial "colleges," or higher gymnasia. This might be effected without so great an expenditure as we might imagine. We have already, in the larger towns, many institutions needing little in equipment. In our

smaller towns, the number of classical scholars is limited. Much is often effected by one master, and in the hands of two accomplished teachers, scholars might be carried through an extensive course of Greek and Latin, and enabled successfully to compete with the large academies.

It appears to us that no very cumbrous machinery is required to meet this educational want of the country. Any government help might be given only in aid of local exertions. One or two inspectors alone might be required to examine and classify teachers according to their merits as scholars, and to inspect the schools. Perhaps the salary given to the teacher might be made partly to depend on the number of his pupils who passed a higher University examination. Even apart from any such changes as we propose, the present inadequate salaries of our classical teachers is a reproach to the country. Inferior men, who devote themselves to English instruction, receive often double their emoluments. In England, the highest places of preferment are open to the master of a grammar school. In Prussia, the Rector of Joachimsthal gymnasium has a larger salary than the reporting minister of the Government, and the provincial rector than the judge of the district.<sup>1</sup> In Scotland, no educated class of men is so poorly remunerated.

IV. A last question remains, the relation of the parochial and elementary school to the university. Our readers will not fail to notice how intimately this must affect the grammar school. There are those who regard it as a fundamental element of the Scottish educational system "to keep open the door for boys coming from elementary schools direct to college." Hence they urge that "in our schools aided by Government grants, whether the parish schools or others, we must have some provision made and organized by Government for the teaching of Latin and Greek."<sup>2</sup>

We agree with those views to the extent that it is advantageous to have the elements of Latin taught in our elementary schools. As to Greek, we shall not be surprised if the Privy Council refuses to regard it as an essential element in our

<sup>1</sup> *Scottish Educational Journal*. Notes on the Prussian Upper Schools, by Professor Blackie.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Candlish's Speech at the Meeting for University Improvement.



primary education. We agree with Sir William Hamilton,<sup>1</sup> that "nothing has more contributed in this country to disparage the cause of classical education, than the rendering it the education of all." "Useless to many," it is "useful to none." It is important also to consider the changed educational circumstances of the country. The old parochial master, while behind the modern teacher in the methods of elementary instruction, had generally passed through the curriculum in arts, often also in theology. He was thus a better Latin and Greek scholar than our normal institutions, however admirable in their teaching, can be expected to produce in one or two years' tuition.

We are not prepared to "stand up" with Dr. Candlish for this system of keeping "open the door for boys coming from elementary schools direct to college." With an admitted widening difference between the students coming up to the colleges, we cannot grant—"You must meet that difficulty." We think there are difficulties insuperable to the subtlest intellect, and it seems to us a Gordian knot to devise a plan of university education, which, with greater diversity in the scholars, shall do justice at once to the meritorious country student, and the accomplished alumnus from our best grammar schools.

We know of no educationist out of Scotland who has attempted to meet such a difficulty. The grammar school has been regarded for ages as the basis of the university system, and the way in which learning has been advanced has been by the elevation of the gymnasium, and the adaptation of the university to its advancement. In point of fact, the grammar school is the substructure of our Scottish university system. It furnishes the largest supply of students, and the most accomplished. To neglect their interests is not only to sacrifice the better scholar to the worse, but the many to the few. Our best country students find their way through them to the university. It is the experience of some of our most accomplished Scottish scholars, to which, if necessary, we can appeal, that they frittered away the earlier years of their student life, from the attempt, unhappy alike to Professor and scholar, of our Scottish system, to unite in one system pupils so different in their progress. If the

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Hamilton's Article on the Condition of Classical Learning, *Discussions in Philosophy*, p. 346.

Scottish grammar schools advance, as we trust they will, this disadvantage will be felt even more generally.

On this subject we might appeal not only to educated Europe, but to the enlightened Scottish reformers. It will scarcely be alleged that they were indifferent to the breadth of education. Not only did they enjoin the instruction of all in the primary schools, but even in the secondary and learned they directed, "The rich and potent may not be permitted to suffer their children to spend their youth in vain idleness."<sup>1</sup> "They must be charged to continue their studies, that the commonwealth may have some comfort by them." Yet they did not sacrifice the higher ends of learning in the desire for its extent. "Those that came from landward," were to be sent to the provincial "colledges."

And in every way this arrangement is the wiser. We meet far better the "*res angustæ*" of the country student, in enabling him, for a more lengthened period, to prosecute his education at some neighbouring grammar school. In place of starving in some Edinburgh or Glasgow garret, where the midnight lamp is often fed at the expense of the flame of life, he stays with some uncle or cousin in the adjacent town, and he obtains his supplies from home. High also as is our impression of the moral character, especially of the poorer Scottish student, it is better for him at the age of fifteen or sixteen years, to live nearer home influence. "It is a very serious matter,"<sup>2</sup> says Dr. M'Cosh, "that there is at the present time no effectual provision for securing that the students are under the care of any master, or, indeed, any religious influence whatever. . . . The effects which might be expected, follow from such a state of things. Every year, a number of the students in the colleges are tempted to turn aside to the paths of vice under some of its seductive forms."

May we suggest, in connexion with this subject, the value of grammar school bursaries. These exist, but they are limited in extent compared with the wishes of the Scottish reformers, or the

<sup>1</sup> *The First Book of Discipline*, Chap. vii.

<sup>2</sup> See *Witness*, January 23, 1858. Dr. M'Cosh's pamphlet on the *Intermediate System of Education in Ireland*, is also valuable in showing the necessity of grammar schools in connexion with the Universities.

usage of several of our counties at that period. The recommendations of Dr. Schmitz are, we think, very valuable. Might not some of our country educational clubs take up the subject? We are interested to hear that the Angus Club, in place of devoting all its funds to school prizes, contemplates bursaries also for meritorious students.

There is another class to which Sir John M'Neil referred in his address to the Edinburgh University Associated Society. On the authority of Professor Ramsay of Glasgow, he stated that upwards of thirty students attended his classes; teachers, missionaries, and clerks, devoting literally their "*horæ subsecivæ*" to classical pursuits. With the lengthened winter course, and the careful discipline of Glasgow, we have no doubt that these scholars have made rapid progress. At the same time, we are not certain if a private tutor might not have accomplished as much for this class. They are able to afford it, and we believe they would prefer it, if the University course of study were shortened. The entrance examination of Trinity College, Dublin, does not deter many placed in that city in similar circumstances. By private instructions they qualify themselves to pass it. If the same method were followed in Scotland, this meritorious class would not be excluded.

In this Essay on grammar schools we have necessarily omitted much. We must refer to others for the proof,<sup>1</sup> that the ancient languages, by their facility of transposition, their compression of monosyllables, and their laws of complex construction, furnish the scholar with the purest and noblest forms of expression. And in Philosophy, is not the academy of Plato a fitter vestibule to the gospel than the bewildering metaphysics of Fichte and Hegel?

Let us add our fervid desire, that a Christian influence may pervade our grammar schools. In our day it is still more to be desired to have Christianity in the gymnasium than in the elementary school: for it is the latent scepticism of the cultivated mind we have chiefly to fear. Would that we had many in the spirit of Arnold, "witnessing and pleading for the Lord the king of righteousness and love and glory, with

<sup>1</sup> See Professor Pillans' *Lectures on the Proper Objects and Methods of Education*. Dr. Donaldson on *Classical Learning and the Cambridge Essays*.

whose spirit they were filled, and in whose power they spake.”<sup>1</sup> And let us also as theologians not forget, that for the defence of our Scottish Christianity we need learning, and that it is our business, whatever else the Universities accomplish for general education, that they fail not in this. If the fountain of our religion is Siloam, its richest treasures flow to us through the Grecian channel. Paul in this tongue preached, and John exhorted. Is it not thus the utterance of the Holy Ghost, that to the study of the blessed theology of the Hebrew, we add the culture of the Greek tongue? The marvellous beauty of that language, that once “resistless fulminated over Greece,” is the gift of the Almighty. Its study enriches us at once by its precious deposits of ancient civilisation, and by qualifying us to enter aright into the blessed thoughts of the Inspired Word.

<sup>1</sup> *Tom Brown's School-days.*

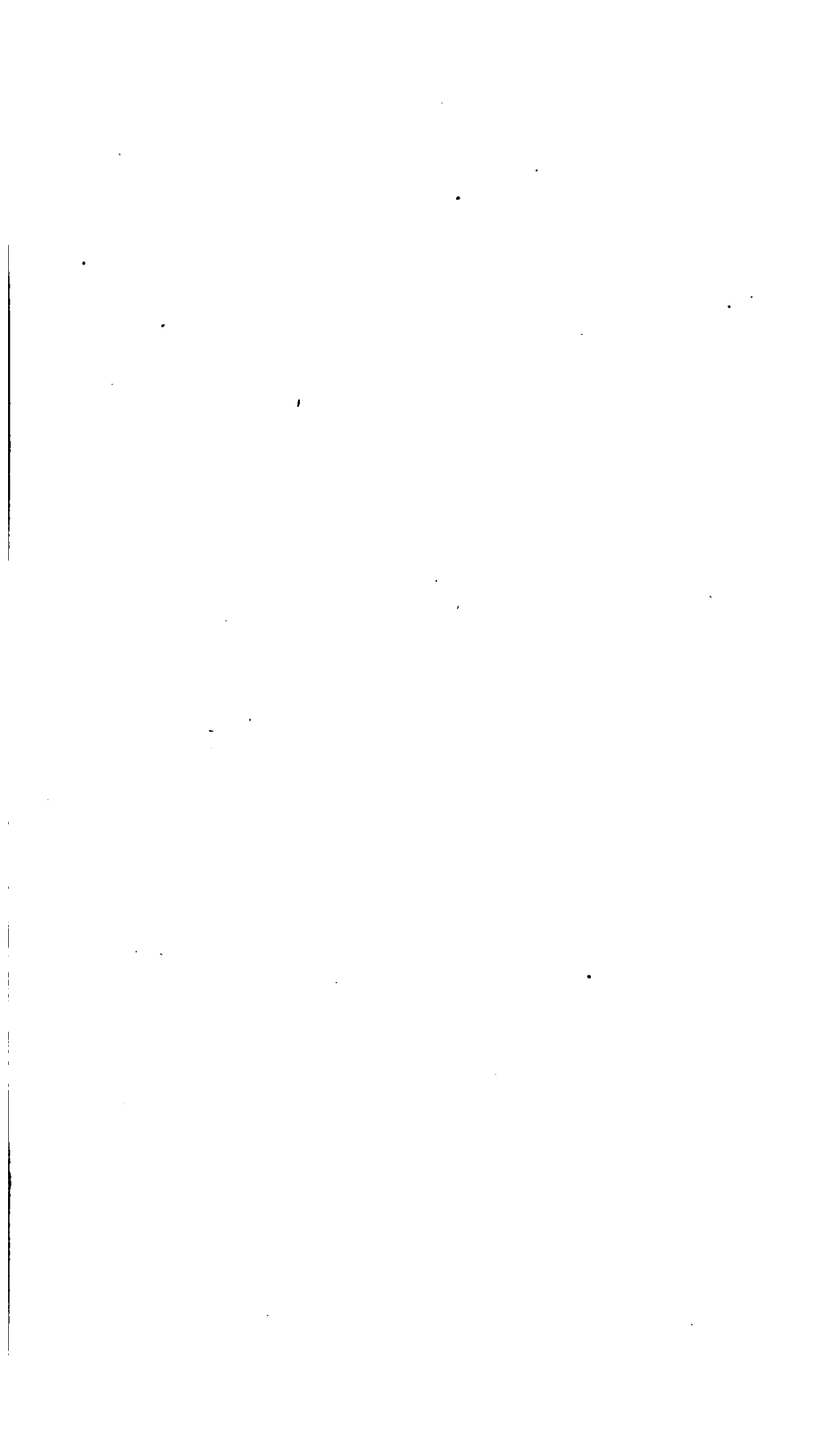


# THE FUTURE OF INDIA.

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## THE FUTURE OF INDIA.

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THE subject which we have undertaken to treat is one of so much importance in itself and at all times, and has acquired such an enhanced interest of late from those events that have recently occurred in this country, that we may safely count upon an earnest and interested attention being accorded to this paper ; and if we could hope to treat it in aught like an adequate manner, we might as confidently reckon on contributing not a little at once to the gratification and improvement of our readers. But we cannot conceal from ourselves at the outset, what will be but too patent to our readers at the close, that the worthy treatment of the theme which we are to handle would require a combination of natural powers and acquired resources far greater than we possess. We cannot conceal from ourselves the fact that the question which we are to consider—the question of India's future—is essentially the one that has occupied and well-nigh engrossed the mind of Europe during the last six months ; and we believe it may be safely asserted that not in direct but in inverse proportion to the amount of sagacity and knowledge that each thinker has brought to bear upon it, is the confidence with which he will be disposed to pronounce that the solution at which he has arrived is sound and true.

At any time, in prognosticating the future, we ought to remember that absolute certainty is not attainable. The history and destinies of nations are not like the movements of the heavenly bodies, that one might sit down in his closet, and, by the aid of geometrical diagrams, and the calculations of a subtle analysis, construct a scheme that should exhibit their risings and settings, their conjunctions, oppositions, and eclipses. In respect of these



purely physical phenomena, it is possible to attain to certainty, both as to the past and the future. But when we leave the domain of the physical, and enter that of the moral, the social, the political, and the religious, there enter elements which, though not less under the control of the Almighty Ruler than are the laws of the physical world, are too minute, and too numerous, and too complicated, for any calculus that we possess, or are likely ever to possess, to be able to deal with. Hence we can neither attain absolute certainty respecting the past, nor do more than conjecture with regard to the future. The conclusion that we would derive from this unquestionable fact is, not that the consideration of such questions should be proscribed, but that they should be considered with double caution, and that in their treatment nought is to be so much deprecated as dogmatic assertion. If, therefore, we should succeed in constructing a scheme which should seem to make all clear, and in persuading our readers that we had set forth precisely what is to occur, and how it is to be brought about, we should be haunted with the humiliating conviction that we had been acting the part of a deceiver and a quack. We therefore state at the outset that we firmly believe that no such scheme can be constructed by human power ; that the most that any one can at present do is to sketch a very general outline, which must be subject to modification as the future gradually evolves itself into the present, which may probably be incorrect even in respect of important matters, and which can only have the details filled in from time to time, as events successively occur which cannot now be anticipated or foretold.

If we wanted aught to teach us caution, and to undogmatize the most dogmatical, we surely have enough in the fact of the overthrow of all previous calculations, and the reversal of all previous anticipations. But a few months ago, and there was not any man who would seriously have predicted aught for India save a slow (perhaps) but steady advancement in the march of civilisation. We fondly hoped to see evils gradually removed, and reforms gradually introduced ; railroads and telegraphs and canals, whether for irrigation or navigation, at once symbolizing and preparing the way for far higher triumphs of an intellectual, a moral, and a spiritual kind. According to our various tastes we

thought of a police so reformed as to protect rather than to oppress ;—or of courts of justice so re-organized that litigation should be rare, because their decisions should bear some relation to the merits of the case, and that perjury should be the exception rather than the rule ;—or of boundless fields of golden grain, cultivated by an intelligent peasantry under the fostering influence of patriarchal zemindars ;—or of grave or learned pundits, uniting the profound speculations of the East with the practical Baconianism of the West, and cultivating to the utmost their own faculties, for the purpose of diffusing the blessings of truth and enlightenment over the masses of an intelligent population ;—or of quiet Sabbaths of rest, and the land studded from its furthest North to its extreme South, and from its furthest East to its most distant West, with village churches, each with its humble but graceful spire pointing to a propitious and gracious heaven, and with lordly cathedrals occupying the sites of ruined temples and forsaken mosques, and each consecrated by the devout worship of an intelligent and virtuous congregation, praying for one another and for all men without distinction of class or caste, and especially with redoubled fervour, for our and their most gracious sovereign lady Queen Victoria, and for rulers under her exercising over them a beneficent sway, like that of Dalhousie, and Thomason, and the Lawrences. It were too sickening to contrast those fond imaginations with the reality that has awakened us from our dream. We had sketched a Utopia, and behold a Cawnpore !

If, then, those anticipations which at the vernal equinox seemed most reasonable, were shown ere the summer solstice to be utterly and fearfully false, what assurance can we have that any predictions which we might now utter shall not equally fail before the test of events ? We verily believe, none whatever ; and therefore we consider that nothing were more unwise than to dogmatize on the future of India. The ways of the Lord, who rules over the nations, are not as our ways, nor His thoughts as our thoughts. We know, indeed, that the principle of His rule is righteousness and truth, in glorious combination with mercy and loving-kindness ; and the ultimate end His own glory, through the establishment of peace on earth and the exhibition of goodwill to men. But we cannot always trace the

steps of the process by which this result is being evolved. He took not counsel of us when He made the world, nor does He rule it according to our prescription.

What, therefore, we are going to attempt, is rather to suggest some considerations which may lead us to form probable conjectures as to what *may* be, than to state with any degree of positiveness what *will* be. And those considerations shall be drawn from the history of the past, which, in the absence of inspired prophecy, must always be our best guide in anticipating the future.

If we take a large view of the history of India, we find that it, more than that of any nation in ancient or modern times, hinges upon *religion*. The rise and progress, the decline and fall of other nations have been but indirectly and incidentally connected with their faith. The barbarian hordes who overran and tore in pieces the Roman Empire, had little or no religion, and those whom they subdued had but little more. At all events, it was with no religious object in view that the one party attacked or the other defended. And so with those wars in which England has been engaged from the beginning of her history. The Romans had no objection to Druidism, nor the Britons to the religion of Rome. The Saxons and the Danes came to England with no view to the propagation of any faith. The Normans who conquered, and the English who were conquered, were men of a common faith and a common worship. The war-cries that rang so often over so many a bloody field in France differed no more widely than "St. George for merry England," and "St. Dennis for fair France." Even in that case of the attempted invasion of our native land, which bore the greatest semblance of a religious war—that of the Spanish Armada—it is clear enough that religion was but the mask under which Philip sought to disguise his wild ambition. And still more so it has been with respect to the more recent European wars. The great object of the American Revolution was political; the great object of the Peninsular and the French War was to check the desolating career of a man to whom all religions were alike. In the late Russian war we had Protestant England fighting alongside of Popish and semi-infidel France, for the support of Mohammedan Turkey, assailed by a profes-

sedly Christian power, while Protestant Prussia and Popish Austria stood sullenly or vacillatingly aloof. In fact, we do not recall a single war in which European nations have been engaged primarily on religious grounds, with the exception of the Crusades ; and these were not only Asiatic in their locality, but essentially Asiatic in their spirit. And even in the case of civil wars it has not been so very different. When the powers of Germany were ranged against each other in the Thirty Years' War, the line of separation might be nearly coincident with that between Protestantism and Romanism ; but not exactly, nor intentionally. The Royalists and the Parliamentarians of England might differ widely in their views of religion ; but the subject of their contest was the boundary between the prerogative of the Crown and the rights and liberties of the people. The Revolution of 1688 was not essentially a religious revolution, however it may have contributed to the establishment of our Queen's throne on the basis of liberty and Protestantism. The three French revolutions, in like manner, were without reference to religion in their objects, although in the first of them the violence of long-cherished hatred broke out against the religious institutions of the country ;—but only as institutions which were supposed to have aided and abetted the cause of tyranny and oppression. Thus, with the exception already alluded to, of the Crusades, which, while they so much and in so various ways affected the progress of civilisation, and the form and fashion of the civil and military institutions of Europe, yet did not directly result in the establishment of any dynasty, or in any fundamental change in the constitution of the European states—and with the apparent exception of such massacres as those of the Huguenots in France, the Waldenses in Piedmont, and the Covenanters in Scotland, which are not to be regarded as wars, but as bloody and barbarous persecutions—there is probably not an instance recorded in the history of Europe of a religious war, or of a revolution conducted primarily with a view to the subversion of one form of faith or worship and the establishment of another.

But in India the case is directly opposite. Religion has been ever the hinge on which the nation's history has turned. If we were to go back even to a period long before the era of histori-

cal record, we should find considerable reason to presume that the race which overspread India in some remote age, and drove the aboriginal inhabitants—the progenitors of the present Santals and Bheels, and Coles and Khonds and Kookies—to the solitudes of the forests and the fastnesses of the mountains, were not more zealous to obtain homes for themselves in the fertile plains of India, than they were to lengthen the cords of the tabernacle of Brahma or of Buddha. But be this as it may, it is certain that of the Mohammedan invaders and conquerors of India the grand ruling principle was propagandism. To say that individual conquerors were actuated by mixed motives, that in some the desire of glory, and in others the desire of plunder, shared the empire of their minds with the desire of propagating the faith of the prophet, is simply to say in other words that they were men. But if we view the Mohammedan conquest as one great whole, as one long act of the mighty drama that has been enacted on the stage of India, we are confident that we shall be led to the conclusion that the animating principle of the conquerors was a fiery religious zeal. The war that was waged was essentially between image-worshippers and image-breakers. And as was the conquest, so was the rule. Although a few of the emperors, of more than ordinary catholicity, or of less than ordinary zeal, might rise above or fall below the standard of zealous fanaticism, it cannot be questioned that the prevailing principle in the rule of India by the Mohammedans, the guiding star by which they strove to steer the vessel of the State, was the glory of God through the establishment of the doctrines of the Koran.

Then when we come down to European times, we find that the Portuguese came to India confessedly with the design to extend the boundaries of the Church. Witness the opening sentences of the great work of Herman Lopez de Castaneda, the historian of the Portuguese discoveries and conquests in the East:—

“This King Don Joan, the second of that name, and of the kings of Portingale the thirteenth, perceiving that all the spices, drugs, stones, and other riches which came to Venice, were brought out of a certain province of the east part; and as he was a personage of a haughty stomach and valiant mind, so was he desirous to enlarge his kingdom

and *increase the Christian faith*, and therefore he determined to discover by sea the country from whence so great plenty of riches came, that thereby his subjects might be enriched, and his kingdom of Portugal enjoy all such commodities as came from thence to Venice. Moreover, to discover the same country he was the rather animated and inclined, *for that he was given to understand that in the East India were Christians, which were governed by a king of great power called Presbiter Joan, with whom Joan thought good to have acquaintance, and to know him by his ambassadors, and the rather for that he was reported to be a Christian prince.*"

Such were the motives which led John II. to undertake the great Eastern expedition which opened the door between India and Europe; and akin to these motives were those that characterized all the doings of the Portuguese in India. If they had one eye to the wealth which had raised Venice to queenly splendour, the rubies and the diamonds, the silks and the pearls of India, they had another to the extension of the Romish faith. All honour to them for their zeal, although it was not according to knowledge! And right bravely did they struggle at first for the realization of those not necessarily incompatible objects; until personal and political and commercial virtue gradually wore out from the midst of them, and then they became an object for the scorn of those who had trembled before the prowess of their hardy pioneers.

Thus we see that in the three great periods of Indian history, the Hindu, the Mohammedan, and the European, the great events turn upon religion. In Europe, the political and the commercial have been the essential elements of the history, and the religious element has entered only occasionally, and then as it were incidentally; whereas in India the religious element has been the essential, and the political and commercial elements, down to the period of British ascendancy, have been subordinate and incidental. It is important that this should be borne steadily in mind; for we shall not be able to derive from the history of the past that knowledge which is to be our guide in prognosticating the future, unless we look at the past from the right point of view. As it is commonly said that the Asiatic character is more religious than the European, and as it is certainly true that religion occupies a more prominent place in the

daily life of most Hindus and Mohammedans than it does in that of most Christians, so it is with the national history of this country as compared with that of the nations of the West.

The next subject to which we would call the attention of our readers is the fact, as we believe we shall be able to establish that it is a fact, that each successive revolution in India has been productive of great good to the people. Perhaps in the long run this is true of all changes that take place from time to time everywhere. It is the sublime attribute of the Ruler of the universe to be "from seeming evil still educing good." But the history of India is so distinctly marked out into separate periods, and the characteristics of those periods are so patent to observation, that it is much easier to trace the progression from bad to less bad, and from less bad to something bearing a resemblance to good, than in the case of other nations, where the changes have been effected in a quieter and more continuous manner. We trust then that we shall be able to show that the condition of the people of India has been abundantly improved by each successive revolution through which the country has passed.

We know little or nothing of the condition of the aboriginal inhabitants before the invasion of the Brahmins and the Buddhists. It is by no means impossible—rather it is highly probable—that they may have been in a much more advanced state of civilisation than that in which we now find their descendants, whom we designate by the general term of Hill Tribes. Indeed, it is likely that in so many ages of degradation they have greatly deteriorated. Still it is very improbable that they were, at the time of the invasion, in nearly so advanced a state of civilisation as the people who brought with them the Sanscrit language, and introduced the arts and elegancies of life in a state of no contemptible development. There is little doubt that, at the era of the Ramayana, they were, by a very moderate poetical license, described as nations of bears and monkeys; and this was probably so soon after their subjugation by the Brahmins that they could not very materially have degenerated in the interval. But we shall not dwell upon this point in our argument, as the best that we can attain to is a general probability. Only we may

remark that this probability is greatly strengthened by the fact of the total subjugation of those tribes by the invaders. Such a degree of conquest never takes place when the conquered and the conquerors are within a moderate distance of each other in respect of civilisation. It only occurs in such cases as those of the North American Indians, and the natives of Australia and New Zealand, when brought into contact with the Anglo-Saxon race.

Granting, then, that the invasion of the Brahminic race carried ruin and destruction to their predecessors in India, we think it can scarcely be doubted that the effect of that invasion was to people the land with a far superior race, possessed of vastly greater facilities for physical, intellectual, moral, and religious gratifications. As to their religion, we are not going to inquire whether the Vedic system were ever the religion of the people after their arrival in India ; or whether they merely brought with them the books in which it is contained, as a sacred treasure received from their forefathers, while they had at an earlier period relapsed into the abominations of idolatry ; or whether, as we have sometimes been inclined to suspect, the idolatrous system went historically before the Vedic, and the latter were a refinement of the former, instead of the former being a corruption of the latter. With these questions we have not now necessarily to do. It is sufficient for us to know that Hinduism, whether in its Vedic or Puranic forms, or in some combination of the two, was the religion of the people of India for a very long period, in order that we may estimate at once their amount of progress as compared with those barbarians who had probably no religion at all ; and yet the exceedingly unsatisfactory condition of the people under a system to which the highest praise that can be given is that it may be better than utter and absolute irreligion. We believe it can be as conclusively demonstrated as any mathematical truth, that God is the source and centre of all the happiness in the universe, and, therefore, that apart from him there can be no true felicity. If this be so, it must follow that men must be in a condition far removed from happiness in every country where polytheism prevails. Without faith in God, a living, personal God, there can neither be sufficient motive for sustained energy in action, nor for sustained



courage in endurance ; there can neither be that love of country which is real patriotism, nor that love of man which is real philanthropy. Least of all can there be that trustful confidence of "a happy issue out of all afflictions" which, combating and overcoming the natural selfishness of man's nature, will lead him to follow the right, equally unrepelled by fear, and unseduced by blandishment. We should therefore expect to find an idolatrous people either a prey to the fiercer passions, or if these were checked by civilisation, then the victims of a weak and vacillating dilettantism, with but very rare glimpses of the nobler and grander virtues. Now, as there was unquestionably, from the first, a very considerable amount of civilisation among the Hindus, our expectation with respect to them should naturally be the latter ; and this *a priori* conclusion we find amply substantiated by facts and records. On the eternal rocks we find sculptured the records of a worship the most impure that ever debased humanity, and of deeds of which, done by others in secret, it were a shame even to speak, but which these men must have done openly and in the face of day. In the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, we find all the graces of poetry, and an apparent appreciation of the manly and warlike virtues of which Homer himself need not have been ashamed, side by side with the most evident traces of more than Sybaritic effeminacy. In the Institutes of Manu, we have the principles of jurisprudence laid down with all the clearness of a Blackstone, yet a penal code of such fearful severity and gross partiality as must have made it a yoke too heavy to be borne,—such as makes us hope that the mere fact that the nation was not extirpated, may be taken as proof positive that many of its enactments were a dead letter. We find the system of caste exalting one class above the level of humanity, and debasing another below the condition of brutality. We find the "mild Hindu" originating or perpetuating the rites of Sati and of human sacrifice. In a word, however poets may dream, however rhetoricians may descant, and however men of antichristian likings and leanings may rave about the simple virtues of those early times, we are persuaded that in direct proportion to the care with which any one will prosecute the study of Hindu antiquities, will be the strength of his conviction of the unspeakable misery that Hinduism

must have entailed upon the people over whom it held undisputed sway.

This system remained unchecked till the year 1000 of our era, when Mahmud of Ghuzni, fired with anti-idolatrous zeal, made his first inroad into India ; and from this time onward for 400 years, successive invasions gradually destroyed the Hindu power, and placed the Mussulmans in the proud position of lords-paramount of Hindustan. Now, we are no apologists for Mohammedanism, or for the doings of the Mohammedan conquerors of India. It is quite true that they carried terror and devastation wherever they went,—that they converted vast and populous provinces into barren deserts,—that they often ruthlessly massacred men, women, and children. But still, with respect to the character of the rule which they established in India, and its bearing upon the condition of the people subjected to it, it seems to us of some consequence that they had got hold, and kept fast hold, of the great truth of a God, and of one God. This, if it did nothing else, imparted an energy to their character, as men, as soldiers, and as governors, which it is refreshing to contemplate after the miserable diletantism of the Hindu period. There was an earnestness in the hearts of these men, and a strength in their arms, and a weight in their hard blows, and a reality in the devastating might of the torrent-roll with which they dashed from their native hills into the plains of India, which are not without refreshment in the contemplation, when brought into comparison with the sickly epicurism of men who would faint at the sight of a beef-steak, and would scarcely intermit their hooka-smoking while setting fire to the pile on which their living mothers were to be roasted ! We must of course make a distinction between Mohammedan conquest and Mohammedan rule. War is always an evil ; and these Affghans, fierce by nature, and doubly fierce by fanatic zeal, were not solicitous to mitigate its horrors, or to draw a velvet glove over its iron hand. Nor was their rule commendable. What we mean to say is, not that it was good,—it was in fact miserably bad,—but that it was an improvement on what went before. While the people were by some of the emperors terribly oppressed, they were generally protected from the oppression of underlings and sycophants. The soubadars, or viceroys of the provinces, knew very well that

if they fleeced their subjects beyond bounds, and enriched themselves too rapidly, they were only hastening the period of retribution and disgorgement. The emperor, always jealous of his nobles, was generally anxious to have the people on his side. He might perpetrate barbarities himself, but he was generally ready enough to punish any of his underlings who presumed to usurp the imperial prerogative of oppression and cruelty. The soubadars, on their part, were generally looking forward to the time when the death of the emperor, by fair means or foul, might afford them an opportunity for asserting independence; and with a view to this, if for no other reason, were anxious to stand well with their subjects, whom they looked to as the supporters of the power which they intended to usurp. Thus there was brought into operation a Parallelogram of forces, the Resultant of which was generally in favour of the people. The soubadar of a remote province would allow a severe imperial firman to remain unexecuted, in order that the people might see how much better it would be for them to be under his uncontrolled sway. The emperor, hearing rumours loud and deep against a soubadar, concluded that he was an *esprit fort* whom it would be well to crush; moreover, that by his oppressions he had probably gathered a fortune which it would be worth while to confiscate. But was this a happy state of things? No, truly; speaking positively, it was very much the reverse; but now we are not speaking positively but comparatively.

Of course religious persecution was part and parcel of the Mohammedan administration; but the severity of it depended a good deal on the personal character and tastes of the individual emperor. Some did, doubtless, persecute "with a will;" but others, either through catholicity or indifference, allowed a very large amount of toleration; so that in some of the reigns we find Hindus sitting side by side with Mussulmans as imperial councillors, and fighting side by side with Mussulmans as imperial generals. We hate persecution as much as any man can, or as any man ought (the terms are in this case convertible, for no man can hate it more than it ought to be hated); but on a calm view of the matter, we do not think that there was more, or more hateful, persecution under the Mussulman than under the Hindu sway. For our own part we should as soon have had a

stalwart Affghan trooper tell us, "You must cease to worship that idol, or I shall smash it and kill you," as we should have had the code of Manu put in force against us, cutting out our tongue if we had happened to remark to a Brahmin that a lie is not truth, or pouring melted lead into our ears if we had casually overheard the said Brahmin reading the sacred books, of which neither we nor he understood a word. Upon the whole, while it cannot be denied that the Mohammedan sway was a terrible scourge to India, we think that it was better than the Hindu rule. Its character depended very much, as that of all despotic governments must depend, on the personal tastes of the several monarchs; but generally there was a certain stern and summary justice, in all cases in which the emperor's personal interests were not at stake, which must have made life more tolerable than under the reign of Brahminical superstition, and the unchecked prevalence of the distinctions of caste.

We have already said that the Portuguese came to India on a mission compounded of religion, dominion, and commerce. Dominion, to any very great extent, they never obtained; commerce they prosecuted for a time with surprising vigour and success; religion they zealously attempted to propagate. It was very much the same with the Dutch, who equally aimed at being conquerors, merchants, and missionaries, and who succeeded in a fair measure in each of these aims, though less in India proper than in the adjacent islands. The designs of the French were probably the same; but they, although at one time they promised fairly to become the paramount power in India, never did establish themselves so fully as to be able to indicate the course of policy which they meant to pursue. But none of these three nations have very materially affected the condition of the people of India. Their influence has been confined to isolated localities, and to transient periods. Notwithstanding, it may not be useless, still keeping in mind the principle which we strove to establish at the outset, to inquire what were the effects of their several systems, so far as they did prevail, in order that we may infer what would have been their effects if they had prevailed more extensively.

The Portuguese were the most bigoted of all Romanists. To the Mohammedan principle of compulsion they added the not

less unchristian principle of accommodation. They would, as willingly as Mahmud of Ghuzni himself, have destroyed the Hindu idols; but, unlike him, they would gladly have spared them, and permitted them to be worshipped, provided the worshippers would consent to a change of name and the addition of a little mediæval millinery. To the Mussulman, a Kali was an object of abhorrence, and was of value only in so far as the wood might serve for firewood, and the gold for ornaments to his sword-handle, and the diamonds might glitter in his girdle. To the Romanist, Kali was equally an abomination; but she might be turned to good account. Take out her bloody tongue, replace her necklace of skulls by a rosary, add a few frills and flounces to her drapery, and she will pass muster as a very creditable "black lady of Loretto."

The Dutch, while professing a creed as doctrinally sound as any in Christendom, fell into the great error of making the profession of the Christian faith at once the necessary and the sufficient requirement in order to the enjoyment of civil immunities and official employment. How detrimentally this has wrought in Ceylon we have had some means of observing; and there is no reason to doubt that it would have wrought as badly in India, had the Dutch established any considerable influence here.

The French, so far as appears from their history in India, were prepared to abnegate religion entirely, in order to commend themselves to the Mohammedan powers, and by their aid to establish for themselves an ascendancy over the rival European powers, in the confidence, that once rid of their rivalry, they would have little difficulty in kicking down the scaffolding on which they had risen.

If we had more to do than we have with these three nations, we should probably be able to show that their systems would have proved to be little or no improvement on the Mohammedan system; and it is not impossible that this may have been the reason, or one of the reasons, why God in his providence prevented their gaining the ascendancy which they coveted. But in point of fact, when we speak of the European epoch of Indian history we mean the period of English rule. We have spoken of a long period as the Mohammedan epoch, although through-

out the whole of it there remained many Hindu principalities, and the Mahrattas especially were able to establish many independent, or only nominally dependent kingdoms. In like manner, the English have been for so long a time the paramount power in India, that we may neglect the other European nations, just as mathematicians neglect certain quantities, not because they are absolute nonentities, but because they are indefinitely less notable than certain others. For our purpose, then, the European epoch means the British epoch.

If then it be true that religion has ever been the distinguishing characteristic of the several periods of Indian history, it becomes a question of intense interest to inquire what has been the religion of the English, in their capacity of rulers of India. The answer to this question we are prepared to state categorically—professedly unlimited toleration; practically pure indifference as the rule, with many exceptions in favour of Hinduism and Mohammedanism, and in opposition to Christianity, but with no exceptions of a contrary character. The rule requires not a sentence to be spent in its establishment. That there have been most excellent Christian men connected with the Government, both in this country and in England, is most true; but the Government, as such, has ever professed to rule without any reference to religion. Of this they have boasted again and again. This is admitted on all hands, and requires no proof. But in multitudes of instances they have departed from this rule, and their deviations have all been towards one side, that of favouring and fostering Hinduism and Mohammedanism, and discountenancing and opposing Christianity. This requires to be proved; and the difficulty is not to find proof sufficient, but to select from an overwhelming multitude of instances.

When the English assumed the control of the revenues of India, it was done in this way. They took over all the rights and privileges, and with them all the obligations, of their predecessors. Now, according to all Asiatic usage, the crown, or governing power, is the sole proprietor of the soil. The Honourable East India Company therefore acquired this right; and accordingly the main part of their revenue is derived from what is frequently called the land-tax, but which more nearly corresponds to our ideas of a land-rent; the zemindars, who are

loosely termed land-owners, being rather the collectors of the Government rent, with a liberal allowance to themselves for the collection. Now it was found that a very large portion of the land had been, to use a Scottish expression, which sounds strangely to English ears, "mortified" to pious uses, that is, to the endowment of Hindu temples and Mohammedan mosques, to the maintenance of dancing-girls, musicians, &c. These "mortifications" had generally been made by zemindars, and sanctioned, or tacitly allowed, by the Government; that is to say, the zemindar had given up his interest in the land which was appropriated to the endowment of a temple or mosque, and the Government had consented to forego their revenue. How far the Company's Government would have been justified, as a Government, in setting aside these endowments, and in regarding the temple-trustees as ordinary zemindars, equally with their neighbours bound to pay their share of the land revenue, and how far they were justified, as Christians, in respecting the grants made by their predecessors, are questions of casuistry on which we shall not enter. We think that there must be in the supreme power an inherent right to cancel endowments of this kind, or to divert them from their original designation, else all progress and improvement would be stopped, and the errors of mankind would be stereotyped for ever. Still the circumstances under which the Company obtained the Dewani, or right of collecting the revenues of India, must be admitted to complicate the question, and we are not disposed to blame them for having respected, as they have scrupulously done, the endowments which they found in existence.

But they went much further than this. They contrived to get themselves mixed up with the management of the principal temples. They collected the Pilgrim-tax at the great shrines; they put this tax into their treasury; and out of that treasury made both stated and occasional grants for the maintenance of the idol-worship. In fact, no possible interpretation can be put upon the attitude which they assumed towards many of the principal temples but this; they took the temples over and made them their own; they kept them in repair; they decked out the idols with splendid shawls, jewellery, and gold ornaments, in order to make them as attractive as possible; they

maintained a staff of priests and dancing-girls, that is, prostitutes ; and in order to reimburse themselves, and leave a surplus or profit, they imposed a tax upon pilgrims, and gave each one who paid, and none else, a right to approach the shrine ! But all this was, of course, in the dark days of Warren Hastings and Mr. Vansittart ? Nay, verily, it was in our own days. Till eight years ago the system remained unaltered ; and we may safely say that it would have remained until this hour, had not some of the civil servants of the Company refused to administer so unhallowed a system. They resigned the service rather than consent to such a degradation. This led to a clamour in England, and the Government at last yielded to the pressure from without, abolished the pilgrim-tax as a Government imposition, and handed over the support of the temples to a sort of voluntary system. Even now there is annually paid out of the Government treasuries a sum of upwards of £170,000 sterling for the support of idolatrous worship ; but this is mainly the interest of money that has been bequeathed to the temples, and of which the Government have become trustees. It is difficult to say what ought to be done with these trusts. It would not be fair to repudiate them altogether ; and it would be very inconvenient to pay a capital sum equivalent to such a perpetual annuity. Yet it is much to be regretted that the Government should be the administrator of such trusts ; were it only because it is impossible to persuade the people that the money which is drawn from the Government treasuries is not a Government grant for the support of the abominations of Hinduism.

Were our object simply to make out a strong case against the Government, we might refer to the days when they used to make special grants to Brahmins to offer up public prayers for the success of their shipments, and for the blessing of the gods on their various enterprises ; but we would rather speak of what has come under our own cognizance. It is the Hindu custom to begin all deeds and documents with the name of some one of the gods or goddesses, generally Doorga, precisely as some English legal documents commence with the formula, "In the name of God, Amen." Now, up to a very recent period this custom was continued in every Court of the British East India Company ; and hundreds of Christian magistrates and judges every



hour adhibited their signatures to documents which began with the invocation of the name of Doorga ! Also, up to a very recent period the oath administered in the Courts of the Company was to Hindus on the Ganges water, and to Mussulmans on the Koran : and this was discontinued, not because the consciences of the Company's Christian servants were aggrieved in the administration of these oaths, but because it was found that the Ganges water was considered to have lost its purity when it was employed in the service of a non-Hindu Government, and the Koran in like manner, all sacred though it be in the estimation of the faithful, was deemed to have lost its sacred character for the time in the same circumstances.

Much has been said and written on the subject of the Government system of education. It is professedly based on the principle of excluding all religion ; and so far as Hinduism and Christianity are concerned, we are not aware of this profession having been falsified. But it is not so with Mohammedanism. The Koran is the great standard of Arabic literature, and it, or commentaries upon it, have been and are the text-books in the Madrissas or Mohammedan Colleges, founded and supported by the British Government. True, it is said that they are only studied because of the purity of their style, and the legal authority with which they are invested, and without any reference to their pretended inspiration. But we venture to say, that there is not a Mohammedan in the country who will admit the distinction.

Even when our Government have done what is right by Hinduism, they have not had the courage to do it in a manner befitting the ruling power of a great empire. If ever a Governor-General occupied the vice-regal chair from whom we might have looked for a manly and fearless course of action, that Governor-General was Lord William Bentinck ;—a man of sound Christian principle, inheriting from his Dutch ancestry a considerable share of phlegmatic determination not to be turned aside from his own path,—with a large measure of the frank spirit of an English gentleman, with the undoubted courage and not a little of the dash of a British soldier, accustomed, moreover, to do what he knew and believed to be right, and not afraid to suffer for it when it entailed suffering,—Lord William

was just the man to act a fearless, decided, energetic part—the part of a Governor, a ruler of men. If ever there were a hideous, horrid evil that called for summary and immediate suppression, that ought to have been put down with a high hand and with might that would brook no resistance, it was the rite of Sati, or widow-burning. Let us see, then, *this* governor brought face to face with *this* rite. How does he deal with it? He abolishes it. Yes; but how? He asks the opinion of pundits in all parts of the country whether this be really an essential part of Hinduism or no. They spend weeks and months in consultation with one another, in poring over the Shastras; and at last many of them, knowing what his Lordship wishes them to say, give it as their opinion that it is no point of Hinduism, and that its abolition will be no infringement of the religious rights and privileges of the people. Many say the contrary; but a sufficient number declare on the side on which the Governor-General wishes them to declare, to enable him to take their declaration as a plausible ground of proceeding; and so Sati is abolished. Now, we believe that Lord William had made up his mind all along as to the abolition, and that he would have decreed that Sati should cease had the pundits been unanimous in upholding it. It is not a good system whose effect was to make such a man have recourse to stratagems and false pretexts to justify his doing of a righteous deed. There is a “doing good by stealth” which is commendable, but its motive is not timidity. How different in its aspect, how much better in its effects, would the abolition of Sati have been, had the Governor-General addressed India in terms like these:—“The British Government is pledged to refrain from persecuting the religions of this land. In those religions there is very much that is *sinful*, but it is not the part of a human government to punish *sin*. But there are also some practices sanctioned and upheld by these religions that are *criminal*, and the foulest of all these crimes is this Sati rite. Even the Sovereign of England, who owns no superior on earth, cannot put to death the most abandoned criminal in her dominions. This is only competent to the majesty of Law, that is, of God, before which, and before which alone, the Majesty of England bows. How much less then shall you, who are no sovereigns, but subjects, be permitted to put to death those

women, who are no criminals, but your unoffending fellow-subjects ! As there is a God in heaven who has said, 'Thou shalt do no murder ;' as there is a king on the throne of these realms appointed of God and under God for the punishment of evil-doers and the protection of well-doers ; as I hold a delegated authority from him to carry out this great purpose of his rule in this portion of his dominions, I declare that it shall not henceforth be, and the might and majesty of Britain, which God has given her for His own good ends, shall enforce this my decree." In such an utterance the world would have recognised the voice of a King, the genuine and unmistakable roar of the British Lion. If the Mohammedans had cared aught about such matters at all, they would have treated Sati in a different, and, we take leave to say, a better way than we did. But, of course, it was to them a matter of perfect indifference whether these accursed unbelievers burned one another or not, so long as the "faithful" were safe.

We have thus given a few instances to show the way in which our Government, in its revenue, educational, and legislative departments, has made itself subservient to the false religions of the land. A single instance will suffice to show that its military standards have been tarnished by the same prostitution. There are some of the gods, especially Juggernaut, who, at certain festivals, make grand processions ; that is to say, the idol is placed on a monstrous car, and is dragged to some sacred place, generally the river or some tank of reputed sanctity, and is there bathed, and afterwards brought back to the temple. Now, when this took place in the neighbourhood of a military station, it was customary in some places that the troops should be paraded, and should present arms to the idol, precisely as they might have done to our own most gracious Queen ! We are not aware whether this were prescribed by any special law, act, or regulation of Government ; but it had acquired the authority of prescriptive custom throughout the Madras Presidency, and twenty years have not elapsed since Sir Peregrine Maitland, the Commander-in-Chief of the army of that Presidency, "as fine a soldier as ever drew a sword," resigned his command, and left the country, rather than enforce this order upon Christian officers who conscientiously scrupled to obey it. Who that knows

aught of the vileness of Hinduism, who that has even once seen but the foul obscenities that are portrayed on these very cars, does not burn with mingled shame and indignation at the thought that English gentlemen, soldiers and Christians, should have been required to lower, in honour of the impersonation of the vilest conceptions that the most prurient imaginations could devise, those all but sacred swords which they had sworn by a holy God to draw only, and to draw ever, in the cause of their country and of their unsullied Queen !

These will suffice as instances of the way in which the British Government of India have violated their oft-repeated pledge of neutrality, by giving positive aid and countenance to the false religions of the land. To prove that they have often given opposition and discountenance to Christianity is an easy task. Not only did they for a long period refuse admittance into their territories to Christian missionaries, but when these missionaries had found refuge in the adjoining Danish territory, they issued a special prohibition to their native converts to bring Christian books or tracts across the boundary ! There was no living man who might not go and come between Serampore and Calcutta, except a Christian preacher. A man might bring a dagger or a pistol with him to commit murder, but until he drew the dagger or cocked the pistol, no man might dare to question him. But let him cross the boundary with a Bengali tract in his girdle, and he was that moment a criminal, liable to arrest and punishment !

Of late a good deal has been said of the way in which the system of caste has been maintained in the Bengal army. An instance of this will suffice ; and although it is probably unique in respect of the development of the principle in active exercise, yet it is a fair specimen of the principle as it would have been applied in all cases that might have occurred. In 1820, a naik, or native corporal, at Meerut, was baptized by the late Rev. Henry Fisher. The officer in command of his regiment reported the "most singular and unprecedented circumstance" to the Adjutant-General of the Army. He laid the matter before the most noble the Governor-General in Council, who instructed his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to direct a special committee to assemble at Meerut, to investigate the whole matter.

The man's character came out in the fairest colours. Before and after his baptism he was a good man and a good soldier. Only one man in the regiment, who had always been his enemy, had reproached him for apostatizing from Hinduism. Yet he was removed from his regiment, and although he frequently solicited to be permitted to rejoin, it was not allowed. Once when his old regiment was passing through Meerut, the non-commissioned officers and men of his company went to see him, and greeted him with much cordiality and kindness. Yet the Government was inexorable.

It is true, and it is a truth which we most frankly acknowledge, and for which we are thankful, that since 1813, missionaries have been allowed to preach the gospel to the people generally. Of course the brigadier of a station, or the commanding officer of a regiment, has the power to prevent a missionary or any one else from holding intercourse with the Sepoys in their lines; and we are not aware that there has been any order to commanding officers to prevent missionaries having access to the men under their command. We are quite willing to admit that a certain amount of discretionary power ought to be lodged in the hands of commanding officers, although there is a fearful responsibility attached to the possession of such a power.

One of the most glaring instances of the *animus* by which the Indian Government has been actuated in regard to missions that has occurred within the limits of our Indian recollections, was an order from the Court of Directors in 1847, that none of their servants, civil or military, covenanted or uncovenanted, should, in their private capacity, assist in any way the cause of missions, by contributing to the funds, or being present at any meetings of any society having for its object the dissemination of Christian truth among the natives. The impiety of such an order was not greater or less than its absurdity; for both were extreme. Of course, the order had reference only to the professedly Christian servants of Government. But for these servants the Company maintain an extensive and expensive ecclesiastical establishment. But how would any servant of Government dare go to church, with the certainty of being called to join, in the evening services, in reading the 67th Psalm, and the

prayer that God's name may be hallowed, and His kingdom come, and His will be done on earth as it is in heaven, and with the chance of hearing a sermon from such a text as "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature?" The Governor-General wisely suppressed this order; but it was no secret that it had come, and some noble Christian men, both civil and military, were not slack in expressing their determination to obey God rather than men. We have heard that the late Sir James Thomason, on hearing of its arrival, wrote to the Government to this effect: "I am President of the Agra Bible Society, and Lieutenant-Governor of the North-west Provinces; the former office I shall continue to hold as long as the Society may deem me not unworthy of the high honour to hold it; the latter office I received from the Government of India, and it is for them to say whether I shall continue to hold it or no." The order was suppressed by Lord Hardinge, and on his representation was cancelled by the Court of Directors. But recent occurrences indicate to us that the spirit which dictated it is not yet extinct. It was but a few months ago that Lord Ellenborough, in the House of Lords, brought it as a most heinous charge against the present Governor-General of India, that he had in his private capacity, as the Viscount Canning, subscribed to a missionary society. Lord Canning's friends doubted the statement, but seem to admit that, if Lord Ellenborough's premises were correct, his conclusion was indisputable, and that Lord Canning ought at once to be recalled. This is too monstrous to bear comment. You take oaths of Christian men, on their faith as Christians, that they will do their duty, and you hold them incapacitated for that duty by their fulfilling one of the most fundamental duties of Christianity!

We hope that we have sufficiently indicated the religious character of the British Government. With all this, it is with perfect sincerity and earnestness that we say, that the British rule has been an immense improvement upon that which preceded it. It were foolish to overlook or undervalue the security that it has given to life and property, by the abolition of Thuggi and the vigorous repression of Dacoity (gang robbery); its vigorous though much misdirected efforts in the cause of native education; its sincere desire to introduce equal justice and useful police, however much these have been frustrated by the

wickedness of native underlings ; its suppression of Sati, and female infanticide and human sacrifice ; its zealous efforts, at least of late years, in the extension of public works ; and the hope it has held out to the natives of honourable employment and liberal remuneration. But it were altogether superfluous to attempt to prove that which no one can by possibility doubt.

And now the question arises—a question of thrilling interest to millions it has been for these few months—What is to be the *future* of India ? Now, if we are right in our tracing of a gradual and constant improvement effected by every great revolution which has taken place in the country, we think we cannot be wrong in concluding that the portentous events that have been enacting around us of late, and which are yet far from being finished, are to be, in the good providence of God, the means of introducing a yet greater improvement. As to the question of the future Government, there are two questions upon which we do not think it necessary to enter : Is the future Government of India to be English, or not ? If not English, it must be either native, or it must be that of some other Western power. Now, we are shut up to the conclusion that it must be English, simply by the consideration that the introduction of any native power would be not a going forward, but a going back—not an improvement, but an immeasurable deterioration ; and that there is no Western power into whose hands India could fall, regarding which, to say the least, we have the slightest reason to believe that it would be for the good of India to exchange the English rule for its. It being assumed, then, that the government of India is to continue in the hands of the English, the next question is whether it is to remain in the hands of the Company, or to be transferred to the more direct sway of the Crown. This is a question that, we venture to think, has had more importance attached to it than it deserves. During the disturbances a great deal of blame has been cast upon certain high officials, both civil and military, and this blame has been supposed to appertain primarily to the East India Company and the Court of Directors. Now, whether Lord Canning, Mr. Vernon Smith, and the late General Anson, were fit for the posts they occupied at the commencement of the outbreak or not, is not the question which we have now to discuss. But those who say that they were not, ought to remem-

ber, what they persistently forget, that these men would have occupied precisely the same posts had the East India Company long ago ceased to exist. Mr. Smith, if not President of the Board of Control, would have been Secretary of State in the Indian Department. Lord Canning would equally have been Governor-General, and General Anson would equally have been Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army. We, therefore, regard it as a very unimportant matter indeed, so far as the administration of Indian affairs is concerned, whether the Company be continued as the administrators or not.

The question as to the principles on which the future government of India is to be conducted, is of infinitely more importance than any question as to the details of the machinery of administration. The cursory historical view that we have taken of the past has indicated that Hinduism, Mohammedanism, and Popery have failed to govern India well, and have in succession been set aside by God when each had effected the end for which He permitted it to gain the ascendancy. The horrors of the last six months have shown us that indifferentism has also failed ; and this also, as a system, must be set aside in favour of a better system, although the ruling power is to remain unchanged. Now, what is that system ? Heathenism, Mohammedanism, Popery, and indifference being excluded, we are shut up to Christianity. The weak system of indifference is no longer possible. We must have the energy of the Mohammedan sovereigns united with the gentleness and forbearance and perfect justice of the gospel. We must declare in the face of God and men that we shall rule India henceforth as a Christian people should rule a subject race ; that we are too conscious of the excellence of our faith either to compel men, like the Moslems and the Portuguese, or to bribe them, like the Dutch, to embrace it ; but that we know that it would be for their good, temporally and eternally, to become real and sincere Christians. This we admit is a difficult and a delicate matter, to give proper encouragement to native Christians on the ground that they are likely to prove the most faithful, conscientious servants of Government, and at the same time to avoid holding out a virtual bribe to the people to make a false profession of Christianity, and so to inundate the Church, as the Dutch undoubtedly did in Ceylon, with base hypocrites. Perhaps it is beyond the power of fallible men to draw the line



with perfect accuracy just where it ought to run ; but we must strive with all earnestness to approximate to it. We must tell the people that the land is ours by conquest and the gift of God ; and that in our just estimation it is a more pious use to employ the land in cultivating crops for the sustenance of God's rational and beloved creatures, than in building temples to the honour of Kali and Juggernath, the impersonation of the basest appetites of brutalized humanity ; and that therefore we shall not remit the rent on land employed for the latter purpose, while we exact it on that employed for the former. We must render Lord Dalhousie's noble " Liberty of Conscience Act " more than a dead letter, by ignoring the rights and privileges of caste whenever they come into collision with it or any other just law. We must make our soldiers (if we are to have any native soldiers at all) distinctly understand that they enter our army on the condition that caste is never to interfere with military duty ; that the only caste that we shall acknowledge is that of the strongest sword-arm, and the firmest seat in the saddle, and the steadiest aim, and the most rigid observance of discipline, and the most exact obedience to orders. Yea, more ; we should tell all Hindus that a Brahmin who endeavours to extort money by the prerogative of his caste, shall be subject to the same penalties with the Dacoit who extorts it by the terror of the club and the sword. We should tell all Mohammedans that no sacredness of place or service shall be permitted to screen treason, and that prayer shall not be permitted to be publicly offered for the downfall of the British power. We should tell all servants of Government, that while their consciences shall not be in the slightest degree put under constraint, our work must be done when we require it to be done, and that no Hindu or Mohammedan holiday shall stand in the way. If they will not do it on these terms, we can easily find those who will. Even with regard to the rites of the Hindu and Mohammedan worship, we ought to put down the public exhibition of obscenity, of cruelty, as in the Churuk poojah (swinging festival), of riot and disorder, as in the Mussulman processions at the Moharrum, and of every thing that unreasonably interferes with the peace and comfort of other citizens.

With respect to education, we think the Government ought to set itself vigorously to the preparation of a scheme for the edu-

cation of the people generally. That education must, of course, be vernacular, and too high things should not be aimed at for a time. Whether the existing Government Schools and Colleges, which, at very great expense, provide a high and not very effective education for the rich, ought to be continued, is a question which may well be considered. The system of "grants in aid," introduced some time ago, should be vigorously carried out, and money should not be grudged which is *bonâ fide* expended in accordance with the conditions of these grants.

In these ways much would be done towards the elevation of the people of India to their right place among the nations of the earth. But there is a higher work which God reserves for His Church than that which He has committed to the secular powers, His ministers though these also be, for good. It is the part of the Church of Christ to labour for the conversion of this people to the Christian faith ; and notwithstanding that all that has taken place has been so fearful, yet we believe it will in many ways conduce to the furtherance of the gospel. It may lead to the modification of cherished plans, and to the deferring of fond hopes ; but it will ultimately lead to the establishment of missions on a firmer footing than ever. For one thing, it will dissipate for ever the delusion, that mere secular education is sufficient for the regeneration of a people ; a delusion that has led many good men to look coldly on missionary operations. We trust in God, also, that it will have the effect, as it has already in part had, of increasing the catholicity of the Church in India, and of the supporters of missions in Christendom. This were itself the beginning of a new era. May God send it speedily ! Probably, too, the increased attention that these awful events have led men to bestow upon India, will lead them to be more earnest in their prayers, and more liberal in their contributions than they have hitherto been ; and so, albeit it be by terrible works in righteousness, the prayers will be answered which many Christian people have earnestly offered at the throne of grace during the last half century.

If we all, Government and private persons alike, would act on these principles, and act manfully as those who know that they are doing God's work, we could not err in predicting a glorious future for India. We do trust that the atrocities by which our hearts have been horrified of late shall prove the baptism of

blood by which a new and better order of things is to be inaugurated. The horrors are not yet over. True, the British lion is preparing for a resistless spring on the Bengal tiger, and to take stern justice on the cowardly inhuman murderers of defenceless women and children. True, there will soon be landed on our shores an army of 80,000 as gallant men as ever fought on any field from Agincourt to Alma. True, there is no hostile army likely to stand before this force in the field,—no fortress likely to frown protracted defiance to it from its hoary battlements; but there is a foe which this fine army will have to encounter. There is the Indian climate, which will tell fearfully upon these young and unacclimatized frames. How many thousands of those hearts that now bound with all the fire of youthful energy, will have beaten their last throb before the close of another rainy season! How many thousands of those who a few months ago were treading the fertile plains of England, and the green sod of Ireland, and the purple hills of Scotland, will be next year rotting beneath the soil of Oude? It is a saddening thought, but not a terrifying one. It may well make us consider, but not turn back. It is not vengeance that we seek; but we know that great sacrifices must be made if great good is to be done. We regard ourselves as called of God on a mission which is eventually to accomplish mighty results, and we are not discouraged although difficulties and dangers may lie in the way. And this we venture to predict, that in the India of the future there will be no more sacred place of pilgrimage, no spots that Christian fathers will point out with more earnest feelings to their children, than those where rests the dust of the men who die in this service. And of those, too, who shall return and live to old age in their native land, although no fresh laurels may crown their brows, and no new medals adorn their breasts, it will be a proud boast to have formed part of that army which has been the instrument in the hands of Providence of introducing the state of things of which they will hear from time to time as prevailing in the India of the Future.

